Daily Report

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Chernyshev Views Sea-Based Cruise Missile Tests

LD1605154688 Moscow TASS in English 1537 GMT 16 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 16 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Chernyshev:

The newspaper "WASHINGTON POST" has printed a sensational, in its opinion, report, saying that CIA specialists have discovered that Soviet sea-based cruise missiles are being tested at a range near Murmansk, though, it says, such tests are prohibited by the Soviet-American INF Treaty. And the conclusion follows right away that the USSR allegedly violates international law and demonstrates the intention to violate the treaty which has already been signed but not ratified.

All that sounds absurd and frankly speaking, one feels uneasy both for the CIA officials and the reputable American newspaper "WASHINGTON POST". The matter is, as I was told at the USSR Defence Ministry, that sea-based cruise missiles have nothing to do with the INF Treaty. This is the treaty on ground-based cruise missiles, and exactly ground-based cruise missiles are to be destroyed under the treaty. The treaty prohibits the tests of ground-based but no sea-based missiles.

It would seem that it could have been much easier to call by telephone the Department of State or have a consultation at the Pentagon which has long been testing sea-based cruise missiles, specifically at the Point Mugu, California, test range. And this is no cause for surprise in the Soviet Union.

It is, by the way, difficult to believe that CIA "analysts" do not know the most elementary things—what types of armaments are covered by the Soviet-American treaty. Seemingly, the main thing is the consequence of such an "innovation". Pictures received by the CIA will be studied by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence and the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, the "WASHINGTON POST" writes. And this might entail a political explosion and block up the Senate's approval of the INF Treaty. I do not think that the senators, who so thoroughly studied the text of the treaty, might overlook the difference between ground-based and sea-based missiles. The CIA's yet another canard is bound to be short-lived.

As to sea-based cruise missiles, they are the subject of discussion at the negotiations on 50 per cent reduction in strategic offensive armaments. From the very beginning of the negotiations the Soviet Union proposed that this class of weapons be fully banned, but the United States objected. In the joint Soviet-American statement at the summit level, which was signed in Washington on December 10, 1987, it was stated that the sides will find a mutually acceptable decision on the question of limitation of deployment of long-range sea-based cruise missiles equipped with nuclear warheads. The USSR and the USA undertook to search for mutually acceptable methods of control over the execution of such restrictions.

But the question of limitation of deployment of sea-based cruise missiles remains outstanding at the Geneva negotiations because of the U.S. fault. Washington keeps it as one of the main obstacles to attaining an agreement on strategic offensive armaments.

All that has been said above shows that "THE WASHINGTON POST's" fabrications on the "intention" of the USSR to violate the INF Treaty are being circulated with the unseemly aims—to prevent ratification of the treaty, to poison the atmosphere of the forthcoming Soviet-American summit meeting in Moscow, to hamper the work over an even more important agreement that would ensure a substantial reduction in the nuclear arsenals of the Soviet Union and the United States.

'Expert' Examines Military Parity With NATO

LD1605232288 Moscow TASS in English 2216 GMT 16 May 88

[Text] Stockholm May 17 TASS—The existence of a military-strategic parity whose most significant indicator is the rough parity between the USSR and the United States in strategic nuclear forces, a rough general military balance between the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO, is a major factor of preventing war, Lieutenant-General Viktor Starodubov, chief of sector of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, said here. The Soviet expert intervened on Monday at the symposium in Stockholm on problems of European security, sponsored by the Research Centre of Swedish Defence (FOA).

The Soviet-American INF Treaty, now at the ratification stage is the first real step toward realizing the program of nuclear disarmament. A 50-per cent cut in the strategic offensive arms must become the next step. It is natural, the Soviet military expert stressed, that following the implementation of such strategic offensive arms cuts, the world has every right to expect the rest of the nuclear powers to join in the process of nuclear arms liquidation.

Viktor Starodubov expressed regret over the fact that, as the Moscow summit meeting scheduled for late May, draws nearer, the hopes for the signing of such a treaty are waning. Among the causes which do not make it possible to move toward the finale as quickly as one would wish to, there are at least two questions without solving which the treaty on a 50-per cent cut in strategic offensive arms simply cannot take place. The first question is about the observance of the ABM Treaty, and the second is about limiting the sea-based cruise missiles. Despite the seeming difference between these questions, he pointed out, they are linked by the principal thing: Both in the event of renouncing the limitations of anti-ballistic missile defence and in the event of renouncing the limitations on the sea-based cruise missiles, there appears a direct possibility for circumventing the treaty on a 50-per cent reduction in strategic offensive arms.

That is why the first and sine qua non condition for such major cuts in the strategic offensive arms is renunciation of attempts to upset the balance through ABM, including space-based ABM. As to the sea-based cruise missiles, the expert elaborated, they are also a strategic type of weaponry requiring adequate reductions. Attempts to place these missiles outside the scope of limitations pursued under strict control mean nothing short of an attempt to lock the arms race in a cage with one wall lacking. Hence the second indispensable prerequisite for conducting the treaty on strategic offensive arms is that all types of these arms, including sea-based cruise missiles, must be subject to limitations and reductions under the strictest control.

Starodubov refuted the theory—current in the West—about an alleged overwhelming superiority of the Warsaw Treaty Organization countries over NATO in conventional arms. The trick which makes it possible to create the impression of superiority of the Warsaw Treaty countries lies in that out of the number of types of arms and indicators determining a balance of forces, only those are taken out for consideration in which the Warsaw Treaty countries have an advantage.

Referring to the Soviet military doctrine, the speaker said that the USSR will never and under no circumstances be the first to begin hostilities or be the first to use nuclear weapons. The USSR, Viktor Starodubov said in conclusion, is strengthening its defence, pursuing military development in strict compliance with the principles of military balance and is working to maintain it at the lowest possible level that would permit it to repel any attack both against itself and against any Warsaw Treaty member-state.

Shevardnadze on Pact, Shultz Talks, Summit

LD1305203888 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1746 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] Berlin, 13 May (ADN)—Following meetings with Erich Honecker and the Warsaw Pact foreign ministers, just prior to returning home, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, gave an interview to GDR television. On behalf of the Soviet people and Soviet leaders, on behalf of Mikhail Gorbachev, he conveyed warm greetings to the people of the GDR, to communists, and to all workers.

Eduard Shevardnadze stressed the importance of the Berlin foreign ministers meeting, at which he briefed the representatives of the alliance partners on his talks with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz. He said that this consultation had been very useful. "This consultation has once again made clear the joint support for the coordinated foreign policy of the Warsaw Pact states and for the line which we represent in Soviet-U.S. negotiations."

Eduard Shevardnadze stressed that in the detailed talk on fundamental principles which he had with Erich Honecker, the general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State highly assessed these Geneva negotiations. At the meeting between the participants in the Berlin meeting and Erich Honecker there was also a very interesting and meaningful exchange of views. "Comrade Erich Honecker explained the manifold activities of GDR foreign policy, which the GDR is developing in the international arena under the SED's guidance."

He valued highly Erich Honecker's statement that the Soviet leadership under Mikhail Gorbachev also has the mandate of the GDR, as well of the other socialist states, in the negotiations with U.S. President Ronald Reagan in Moscow.

Referring to the negotiations in Geneva, the foreign minister recalled his statement at a news conference on the meeting with Secretary of State Shultz. "I would like to stress that it was a useful and very necessary meeting. It was the final round of preparations before the Moscow summit. We succeeded in clearing away many difficulties which arose, as is known, as a result of the ratification process in the U.S. Senate. The agenda for the summit was discussed. We also dealt with the tentative range of topics which will be discussed at the Moscow summit."

On the prospects for the Moscow summit, the foreign minister said: "I must say at once that an agreement on reducing strategic offensive weapons while observing the ABM Treaty will not be signed. Nevertheless, I would like to highlight decisive progress that has been achieved in this area. We now see the talks as making further progress in the preparation of the agreement before the Moscow summit. We also see the task as being able to set out in a document at the summit what has been achieved by then in this area."

It was agreed in principle with the U.S. secretary of state that very far-reaching, important documents will be signed at the summit. "Regarding the contents of all these documents, we envision taking stock, so to speak, of everything that has been achieved in Soviet-U.S. talks since the well-known meeting in Geneva—that is to say, we establish and set out the successes achieved, we create a basis for continuing work in the interest of further normalizing Soviet-U.S. relations."

All the conditions are present for signing important bilateral agreements with the United States in Moscow, in the spheres of science, fisheries, and transport, for instance, as well as some other bilateral agreements. A total of seven bilateral agreements are now involved. "We are thus awaiting the Moscow summit with expectation, in spite of all the well-known difficulties that are cropping up here and there. We believe this meeting represents a considerable and important step in relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, as well as in world politics overall."

Eduard Shevardnadze went on: "We welcome most heartily the initiatives and proposals of the GDR and all the other socialist states, such as the CSSR, the PPR, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and the Hungarian People's Republic, which are aimed at reducing military confrontation in all of Europe, but especially in central Europe. I believe that in the present situation relatively favorable conditions exist to help us, here in Europe, to reduce troops and conventional weapons and military confrontation in general on the continent."

A lot is now being said to the effect that disproportions and imbalance exist between the military strength of NATO and the Warsaw Pact in Europe. But it has already been proposed to the United States—and, naturally, its NATO allies, too—that data on troops in Europe should be exchanged. This also means the structures and strength of each side's troops and arms in the area from the Atlantic to the Urals, as well as the publicaton of data of a regional nature—meaning the data for the potentials facing each other in central Europe, southern Europe, and northern Europe. "Unfortunately, the situation is that our partner has not yet gone into these proposals. Intensive work is now being done in Vienna to reach an accord there on the mandate for future negotiations on the reduction of troops and conventional weapons in Europe."

This question was also addressed in the talk with the U.S. secretary of state. "I must say that our positions have drawn considerably closer together. If it comes to an exchange of data, and this could also be agreed in the mandate and negotiations could begin, then a very

interesting and far-reaching prospect opens up for troop and conventional arms reductions in Europe as a whole, but central Europe in particular."

Eduard Shevardnadze continued: "I would like to emphasize once again our full support for the active initiatives of the GDR in this sphere, about which Comrade Erich Honecker has spoken very interestingly and very comprehensively. As a result of the talks in Geneva, an interesting prospect also opens up for speeding up a convention on a complete ban on chemical weapons. Of course, all the world's countries are interested in this. For the European states, this problem is especially acute. I believe that we will succeed in making an important statement at the Moscow summit on this problem in favor of accelerated disarmament and such a convention."

Finally, Eduard Shevardnadze expressed heartfelt thanks to his host, and especially to Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer, for the hospitality shown, for the very good working conditions that were created in Berlin, and for the open-mindedness and friendship. He wished everyone much success.

Rohlicek Leads CSSR Group to CEMA Meeting

LD1705030788 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1930 GMT 16 May 88

[Text] A Czechoslovak delegation to the 127th session of the CEMA Executive Committee arrived in Moscow today, led by Rudolf Rohlicek, first federal deputy premier and permanent representative of the CSSR in CEMA. The delegation was welcomed at the Sheremetyevo Airport by Vyacheslav Sychev, CEMA secretary, and other officials.

Documentary on Security in Asia-Pacific Region

LD1405223388 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1345 GMT on 14 May carries a 40-minute documentary entitled "Asian-Pacific Security," presented by Vitaliy Ilyashenko, a "political observer," with the participation of Georgiy Fedorovich Kim, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Alekseyevich Rogachev.

Ilyashenko begins by looking at a map of the region, whose importance, he says, is derived from the vast population living in it, from the coexistence there of states with different social systems, of states exceptionally large and states exceptionally small. We see pictures illustrating the exotic side of life on Pacific islands; there is a clip of Queen Elizabeth II attending a ceremony on Fiji, of which she is head of state; there are also clips of New Caledonia, where the Kanaks are struggling for independence from France.

Ilyashenko says it is wrong to think of the South Pacific islands as peaceful places: To this day, France continues to use the Mururoa Atoll for nuclear tests. The United States, too, he says, has used the Bikini Atoll in the Marshall Islands to test the first hydrogen bomb, and experts from the University of Fiji have established that radioactive pollution of the environment has led to increased incidence of cancer among the population, although in Paris they continue to claim that the tests are clean and harm no one.

He goes on: "No, the Pacific Ocean is far from the tropical paradise it appears to tourists. Ships of the U.S. 7th Fleet constantly ply its waters, and more than half of the 200 major warships carry nuclear weapons on board targeted primarily in the direction of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and serving the objectives of US forward-basing strategies; that is to say, the constant presence of U.S. troops and nuclear weapons as close as possible to Soviet frontiers. Former U.S. Defense Secretary Weinberger once said: We have and will continue to have naval superiority."

Ilyashenko continues: "In the meantime a complicated situation has come into being. The nuclear ships of the great powers face each other directly in the Pacific Ocean. At the same time, regional conflicts continue in the region. The U.S.-Soviet dialogue about confidence measures and then about reductions in nuclear weapons in Asia and the Pacific basin is, therefore, essential. And so in July 1986 came Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's call from Vladivostok."

There follows a short clip showing Gorbachev making his Asian and Pacific proposals during his speech in Vladivostok. Ilyashenko resumes: "These initiatives received a broad response and support in many countries in Asia and the Pacific basin, for they are in accordance with the vital interests of the independent countries of the region."

Ilyashenko then continues with an interview with Kim, as follows:

"[Ilyashenko] Georgiy Fedorovich, nearly 2 years have gone by since Comrade Gorbachev spoke in Vladivostok and put forward the Soviet program for ensuring security in Asia and the Pacific region. What positive advances are there to speak of now?

"[Kim] That is a very important question, and perhaps we will begin with the fact that by the time of the Vladivostok speech, the program speech by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, it must be pointed out that there was a certain antiwar and anti-imperialist potential in Asia which at the present time is helping considerably in the implementation of the ideas of peace and security on that continent. First of all, I want to remind you about Mikhail Sergeyevich's statement in Vladivostok that Asia, having awakened to a new life, has enriched world history with a diverse and original experience of struggle for peace and security. From this point of view, one has to remember things and historical events in world history like Bandung, the 10 principles of Bandung, the Panch Shila, the norm, so to speak, not just of Asians living together under modern conditions, but I would say the norms and principles of peaceful coexistence formulated by the independent states of Asia and their outstanding leaders. At the outset of this movement were such colossal minds and giants of our age as Sukarno, Jawaharlal Nehru, Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir; and so, on the basis of Bandbung and Panch Shila, therefore, a dialogue has been unfolding between Asian countries over a long period of time for peace and peaceful coexistence."

Kim goes on to note ideas for ensuring peace and security in Asia that have been put forward by countries like India, the ASEAN countries, the Mongolian People's Republic, and the DPRK.

The following exchange then takes place:

"[Ilyashenko] Georgiy Fedorovich, what is your view? What has been the effect and the impact of the Washington agreement? We know that in formal terms the West and the United States, in particular, have not embarked upon a dialogue on Asian security, having in mind the fact that missiles have been deployed in our country on the Asian Continent.

"[Kim] The Washington agreement had a key and decisive influence because the agreement on eliminating two classes of missiles extends to the Continent of Asia: The dual-track zero solution covers the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, not just on the

Continent of Europe but in Asia, too. We have agreed to eliminate all missiles of the intermediate- and shorter-range class on the continent of Asia, as well.

"[Ilyashenko] And we have done so unilaterally.

"[Kim] Unilaterally. Consequently, we have removed what, I would say, was a subject, on the one hand, for speculative fabrications claiming that in Asia, the Soviet Union possessed an absolute superiority in missiles. But on the other hand, it has to be said directly that there were not speculative fabrications but a certain fear on the part of Asian countries which were misled by this propaganda saying that the Soviet Union presents a real threat to a number of Asian countries with its armed forces and missiles. So this Washington agreement, as it were, cleared the way for a normal dialogue and for normal mutual understanding. In addition, Vitaliy Markovich, I would like to draw your attention to the fact that over a long period of time, the entire imperialist propaganda has been built upon the idea that conditions for serious talks do not exist in Asia as they do, say, in Europe, because Asia does not have the same antiwar potential as Europe has; European conditions are radically different from Asian conditions, and so on.

"[Ilyashenko] As far as experience of talks and conferences is concerned.

"[Kim] Yes, yes. Now the Washington talks and the results of the Washington meeting would appear to have removed all that talk. Under present conditions, if one is guided by the new thinking—and in the new thinking, the main thing is that the world is indivisible, that everything in the world is interlinked—and so if we raise the issue of detente in one region, then naturally, therefore, there cannot be any whipping up of tension in another region. Consequently, detente, like a chain reaction, has to follow in other regions. On the agenda now, therefore, in very real terms and prominently, I would say, is the issue of ensuring peace and security on the Continent of Asia in the wake of Europe, because in Europe there are certain norms regulating relations between the European countries and peoples; Asia, too, needs some of these. Of course, it is not a direct analogy of Europe but some of its own norms and principles regulating relations between Asian countries."

Ilyashenko goes on to speak about the way in which the peoples of Australia and New Zealand actively favor the lessening of tension. He shows pictures of Australian demonstrators protesting against nuclear ships calling at Australian ports. He shows film of himself interviewing Australian Prime Minister Robert Hawke. Hawke, speaking in English with a superimposed Russian translation, says: "There are two things: the world in which one has to live, and the world in which one would like to live. The world in which we live is not the one where it is possible to take the stance one would like in one's heart to take. We recognize that there is rivalry between the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States. Like many Western countries, we have close links with the United States. In our view this alliance is not aggressive in nature. We have no aggressive intentions against the USSR or any other country. But in a world which has been nuclear since 1945, the threat of nuclear war exists. Hitherto, the world has managed to avoid nuclear disaster thanks to a system which we—using the jargon of Western politicians—call mutually assured destruction. That is to say, the Soviet Union and the United States have accumulated sufficiently large capabilities to destroy each other in the event that the rival delivers a first strike. There is nothing highly moral in this. The human race cannot boast about a system of this kind for ensuring security."

Ilyashenko recalls that Australia's Labor government was one of the initiators of the idea of setting up a nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific. He visits the headquarters of the Australian peace champions in Sydney and interviews its leader about the scale of the peace and anti-nuclear movement in the country, as well as members of the movement about the reasons why they take an active part in protest actions.

Ilyashenko then concludes the program with the following interview with Rogachev:

"[Ilyashenko] Igor Alekseyevich, you have just returned from a visit to Asian countries where you had talks and meetings with statesmen and politicians. What is the mood in political circles in that region, and how are the initiatives on collective security in the region, Asia and the Pacific, being implemented?

"[Rogachev] In recent times, I have had occasion to travel a great deal in the countries of Asia, Southeast Asia, southern Asia, and Northeast Asia. I would like to say that in these countries, very great interest is being shown in the Soviet initiatives and our foreign policy course. First of all, I want to say that the Soviet Union has improved, extended, and deepened to various extents its relations with the majority of countries in the Asia-Pacific region. Perhaps there are exceptions in the case of Japan and Pakistan, for well-known reasons. Besides that, we are actively participating and assisting in the unblocking of conflict situations. This means, first of all, Afghanistan, Cambodia, and a Middle East settlement. Lastly, we are doing some hard, painstaking, and very difficult work to move forward our major initiatives aimed at reducing military confrontation, meaning, first and foremost, the Soviet Union and the United States. I would like to say that our initiatives are accompanied by growing activity on the part of the countries in the region, which, for their own part, are putting forward specific ideas of their own and taking steps—sometimes unilaterally—to ensure the interests of security and peace in the region.

"[Ilyashenko] Along these lines, perhaps you would say a few words about the initiative of the ASEAN countries concerning the setting up of a nuclear-free zone in

Southeast Asia: What kind of initiative is this? What is the process whereby it is formed, and what is holding back the establishment of this zone?

"[Rogachev] So far, this is no more than an idea: It is an idea being put forward in an active way in particular by Indonesia. It was discussed at the third summit meeting of ASEAN countries which took place last December in Manila. I would like to say that the Soviet Union, by virtue of our policy of principle, of course supports all ideas concerning the setting up of nuclear-free zones. You will remember that we recently ratified the second and third protocols of the Rarotonga treaty: We joined in these protocols without any conditions. This is the first nuclear-free zone in the Asia-Pacific region. Now the idea of creating a nuclear-free zone in Southeast Asia is ripening.

"[Ilyashenko] It would be interesting to know which states are in favor. Some states, perhaps, are not very actively involved in this process—I would like to know how the various forces line up on this specific idea.

"[Rogachev] I want to say that unfortunately this idea is encountering opposition, primarily from the United States. Last summer at a meeting with the foreign ministers of the ASEAN countries, Secretary of State Shultz said outright that the United States will object resolutely to this idea since it runs counter to the strategic interests of the United States. Of course, a statement of that kind was bound to have its consequences: Some people wavered, and some people started to express doubts, although it seemed to me during my visits to the countries of Southeast Asia that on the whole this idea is making headway and is very, very promising. I would like to recall the fact that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said during his speech in Vladivostok that if the United States got rid of its military bases on the Philippines—and it is no secret that nuclear weapons, too, have apparently been concentrated on these bases—then the Soviet Union would do something in return.

"[Ilyashenko] What is there to say about the position of the West and primarily the United States? It is well known that, generally speaking, they have been blocking the process of detente and security for a very long time.

"[Rogachev] You are asking a very important question, one of the key questions, perhaps, on reducing tension in the Asia-Pacific region. I want to recall the fact that both in the Vladivostok speech and in the interview that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev gave to the Indonesian newspaper MERDEKA, he said that we cannot see how the region's problems can be resolved without a serious dialogue with the United States because the United States is also a power which lies directly on the Pacific. You will no doubt remember that both those statements contained major proposals aimed at reducing the level of military confrontation: the proposal to reduce the activity of the navies, the areas in which ships carrying nuclear weapons operate, and submarine activity, as well as a whole range of other reduction proposals. I want to say that over this period, we have had contacts repeatedly with our U.S. colleagues and with the State Department, and we have raised these questions. Unfortunately, what we had in reply was either silence, or on other occasions we were told that these proposals were assymetrical. Well, that is not a constructive approach. If our proposals are not to the liking of the other side, then we have a right to expect counterproposals. Let them explain to us the causes where there is assymetry, and we are willing to think about this and study counterproposals. But mutually acceptable solutions have to be found. On the basis of contacts with the U.S. side, the impression is forming that Washington does not particularly want to discuss the issue of naval forces in the Asia-Pacific region. We know that Washington is convinced that superiority here is on the side of the United States.

"[Ilyashenko] Apparently, that is why they do not want to discuss it; they want to preserve this superiority for many years to come. That is the conclusion that suggests itself.

"[Rogachev] Absolutely right. That is precisely the conclusion one has to make.

"[Ilyashenko] Igor Alekseyevich, the process of ensuring collective security in Asia and the Pacific Basin is quite naturally a process taking place on different levels—individual streams join together to form one deep river. Naturally, contacts are going to continue. What are you able to say about our position on forthcoming contacts about this issue?

"[Rogachev] First of all, I want to say that from the very beginning, from the time the Vladivostok program was put forward, it was stated that we certainly do not regard our initiatives aimed at strengthening peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region as being the ultimate and final truth. We are willing to discuss and to examine very carefully any constructive proposals aimed at these same objectives. We are willing to hold a dialogue with any country in the region. It is very important to secure a situation wherein the mechanism of talks on the Pacific finally begins to function here in Asia. This is something that this region lacks, something that was created long ago in, say, Europe. During the present year and next year, even, we are expecting a whole range of senior visitors from the countries of Asia and the Pacific to visit us in the Soviet Union. There will be the prime minister of Thailand, who is coming to the Soviet Union in mid-May; there will be foreign ministers from countries in Southeast Asia and southern Asia: we are holding talks about specific dates for visits by President Suharto of Indonesia, President Aquino of the Philippines and a whole number of other very interesting talks will take place over the next few months. I think that the main issue during the meetings between Soviet leaders and the leaders of countries in Asia and the Pacific will of course be the subject of ensuring peace and security by the collective efforts of all countries of the region."

'International Review' on Afghanistan, Summit

PM1605152488 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
16 May 88 Second Edition p 5

[Vitaliy Korionov "International Review": "The World This Week"]

[Text] A Bold, Courageous Step [subhead]

The date 15 May of this year will be entered in capital letters in the annals of the history of international relations of our time.

For many years forces gambling on regional conflicts as a means of achieving their selfish goals spared no effort to maintain one of the most dangerous seats of armed conflicts in central Asia—around Afghanistan, hoping thereby to maintain tension not only in that region but throughout the world. They insistently instilled in international opinion the idea that the Soviet Union is only saying that it intends to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan but in fact has no intention of doing so. Now the world has received irrefutable evidence that with the present Soviet leadership, there is no gap between words and deeds: The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan began on 15 May.

The Soviet servicemen, as they leave the land of Afghanistan, are conscious of an international duty honorably fulfilled. They extended a timely fraternal hand to a country in trouble. The internationalist soldiers will be greeted with embraces by Soviet people—first and foremost, of course, by their friends and families. The memory of those who gave their lives for the sake of helping the people of the neighboring state is sacred.

The attainment of a political settlement over Afghanistan enriches the world experience of resolving the highly complex problems of our time from the viewpoint of both interstate relations and internal political questions. The settlement is a result of many years of efforts by a whole group of states—the USSR, the United States, Afghanistan, and Pakistan, as well as the United Nations, in the shape of the personal representative of that organization's secretary general. The method of talks and agreements has once again demonstrated its superiority. The contribution made by the Afghan Government and by President Najibullah personally to the cause of achieving the accords is highly significant.

It is hard to overestimate another side of the matter, too. For many years the planet has been torn by regional armed conflicts. Countries and peoples struggle to seek solutions. The Geneva accords on Afghanistan are an example of how such tricky questions can be tackled. National reconciliation, goodwill, patient dialogue are the keys to untangling knots that hitherto could not be unraveled. The example of Afghanistan will light the way for forces seeking a means of resolving regional conflicts in other explosive parts of the planet, too.

However, it is necessary to see clearly that a final peaceful resolution of the Afghan problem will become possible only in an atmosphere of honest, conscientious implementation of the commitments taken on by the sides that signed and guaranteed the Geneva agreements.

The second stage of the struggle to normalize the situation both in Afghanistan itself and around it is beginning. UN monitoring groups have already arrived in Islamabad and Kabul to monitor the fulfillment of commitments arising from the Geneva agreements. A UN coordinator for humanitarian and economic aid to Afghanistan has been appointed. More than 100,000 Afghans have returned home—as yet, not as many as there could be, if obstacles were not put in the refugees' path. The state is still preparing the conditions for receiving the returning refugees: Funds are appropriated for their travel and transport expenses; centers for the reception of repatriates have been set up, and so forth.

The Afghans are gaining the right to build their lives without interference, coercion, or pressure from outside. On the basis of national reconciliation and the unification of all patriotic forces around the resolution of the nation's fundamental problems, it is possible to embark on the true path leading to the long-awaited peace.

But that prospect does not suit the "irreconcilables" among Afghan emigres, or their foreign patrons. Certain leaders of the so-called "Alliance of Seven" entrenched in Pakistani territory—first and foremost, G. Hekmatyar—continue to fill the airwaves with threats to overthrow the Government of Afghanistan. They are hastily shipping weapons stockpiles from Pakistan into Afghanistan, clearly preparing to continue the fratricidal war.

As THE NEW YORK TIMES reports, U.S. Under Secretary of State M. Armacost has sent a special envoy to Pakistan to assure the armed Afghan opposition that Washington intends to continue to support it. Is not this rather an unusual "interpretation" of the Geneva agreements?

In this complex atmosphere, Afghan patriots declare their determination to uphold the motherland's honor and the cause of peace. And they have reliable prerequisites for that.

UN Deputy Secretary General Diego Cordovez, who has accumulated such long, tough experience in conducting talks on the political settlement of the Afghan problem, observed the other day: "We are swamped with analyses of reports that support the view that the Afghans are incapable of agreeing between themselves and will in the future be plunged into a new civil war. Why should events develop in only that way? I believe such predictions underestimate the Afghans.... At the height of a hot summer, the Afghan people, once again in their history, face a moment of truth. They could turn a historic opportunity to establish peace, opened up thanks to the Geneva agreements, into concrete reality."

Measure of Responsibility [subhead]

It is only 2 weeks to the Soviet-American summit meeting in Moscow. The remaining time is being utilized actively to clear away obstacles in the path to the successful holding of the Moscow meeting. And there are plenty of them.

The other day the American weekly NEWSWEEK suggested adding a new proverb to the English dictionary: "In order to reach the summit (the summit meeting), you first have to climb the hill (Capitol)," and advised that this be considered the "first lesson in party politics, American-style." And "party politics American-style" can produce suprises.

The immediate priority goal now is the ratification of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. Moscow's position can hardly leave anyone in doubt. As for Washington, at first it appeared that ratification by the U.S. Senate was also ensured. At least, the administration assured us that the question was predetermined, especially since quite recently Major General W. Burns, director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, in answer to the question: "Has it become easier to conduct talks with the Russians now?" made this characteristic admission: "Yes, it has become easier to conduct talks.... I really think the spirit of restructuring and glasnost permeates our talks. I think this is a very positive sign on the Soviet side."

But suddenly the matter came to a standstill. The Senate, in which, as is well known, the Democrats are now in the majority, suddenly discovered, literally on the eve of the treaty's submission for discussion, questions described as technical questions concerning the mechanism for monitoring fulfillment of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. And this in spite of the fact that during the treaty's preparation the sides drew up a truly unprecedented monitoring system. The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is indeed something new in the verification sphere; it ensures confidence that all commitments enshrined in it are strictly fulfilled. Nonetheless, some senators had doubts: Does the treaty not contain certain "loopholes" which the "cunning" Soviet Union could use to deceive the "trusting" United States?

Naturally, in this situation the world press paid keen attention to the results of the Geneva meeting between E.A. Shevardnadze and G. Shultz.

The very fact that this was the 26th meeting between the two ministers in a comparatively short period testifies to the dynamic, intensive nature of Soviet-American relations at the present crucial stage. The talks took place in a businesslike spirit. Ways were found to resolve the questions that had arisen, and an agreement was signed on the applicability of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles to intermediate- and shorter-range missiles capable of carrying weapons based both on existing principles and on new physical principles. The talks ended successfully.

Does that mean that there are no longer any differences in the sides' positions on questions of arms limitation and disarmament? No, it does not. Such differences remain. It would be surprising if it were otherwise. Nonetheless, there has been some progress at talks on the central question: the attainment of an accord on a 50-percent cut in strategic offensive arms in conditions of compliance with the ABM Treaty.

Along these lines, it is apposite to recall precisely how the question of drafting such an agreement was formulated at the Soviet-American summit meeting in Washington in December 1987. The joint Soviet-American statement that was adopted then said: The leaders of the USSR and the United States "agreed to instruct their representatives at the Geneva talks to seek to complete the drafting of a treaty on the reduction and limitation of strategic offensive arms and all associated documents in the shortest possible time, preferably so that it can be signed during the next meeting of the states' leaders in the first half of 1988." Efforts were made, at Soviet-American talks at all levels, especially on the Soviet side, to reach such an accord. But it became clear that the drafting of the documents could not be finished by the end of May. The objective remains: to go as far as possible on the basis of the agreement on a cardinal reduction in strategic offensive arms. Then the Moscow meeting will be an important stage on the path to a new treaty.

Practical matters connected with the completion of preparations for the Soviet-American summit meeting in Moscow were also examined from a constructive standpoint in Geneva. The desire exists on both sides to make efforts to ensure that the meeting is a major, fruitful milestone along the path of improving USSR-U.S. relations.

Confrontation [subhead]

The present situation in Central America is a graphic illustration of the difficulty the peoples have in defending their right to determine their own historical destiny. On the one hand, new trends in the political life of the Latin American continent are growing stronger. Military dictatorships no longer exist in Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay. A kind of leap forward is taking place on the continent, the essence of which is the rapprochement and in a number of cases the identity of the viewpoints and positions of governments and peoples of the region's countries.

Let us recall that the attempt by U.S. imperialism to stifle the first socialist country in the Western Hemisphere, Cuba, did not meet with a resolute rebuff from the ruling forces in the majority of Latin American

countries. With Nicaragua, things have turned out differently. The formation of the Contadora Group and Support Group, which set themselves the goal of creating a situation in which the Central American crisis would be resolved by the Latin Americans themselves and only by peaceful means, is evidence of the significant changes in the continent's political life. The object lessons of the seventies and eighties were not wasted. The depth of the dangers of the course of military dictatorships was revealed. The burden of foreign debt is becoming ever more unbearable. The pernicious nature of the policy of blindly following Washington's lead is becoming ever clearer.

The Latin Americans' struggle for national sovereignty is now rising to a new, higher level. But the opposition to this development is still great.

Last week the ringleaders of the Nicaraguan contras wrecked the latest round of the cease-fire talks. That step came after the leaders of the counterrevolutionaries were received at the U.S. State Department, where they were promised full support. After that, one of the extremists in the contra camp, A. Calero, cynically announced: From now on the strategy is to "lead the Sandinistas on" in the cease-fire talks in the hope that in the event of a Republican victory at the presidential elections, the United States will resume military aid to us.

Let us turn to the crisis situation in Panama. U.S. actions in that country are not really based on the so-called "case" of General Noriega, who heads the Panamanian National Defense Forces. The Mexican newspaper EXCELSIOR recently published a series of articles by its correspondent in Panama, Dyuki Julius [name as published], convincingly revealing what really lies behind the campaign. The ballyhoo over Noriega, the newspaper wrote, "is in reality only a pretext for the attainment of the United States' own objectives, aimed at creating a regime in Panama which would enable the United States to retain its military bases and facilities in the Panama Canal zone in the next millenium.... The Pentagon regards its forward military positions there, at the narrowest point of contact between the two Americas, as vitally important strategically, first and foremost, for maintaining U.S. military superiority in Latin America, and also for monitoring the ocean spaces in the direction of Europe, Asia, and Australia with electronic equipment and radio systems."

However, the Washington administration's attempt to overthrow "at a stroke" the legitimate government of Panama is clearly failing. They did not succeed in tightening the financial noose around Panama's throat: Last week banking institutions in Panama, closed in an attempt to stifle Panama's economy from outside, began to operate again. The latest reports indicate that the Washington administration is in effect having to retreat and seek agreements with the Panamanian Government which allow it to emerge from a situation of its own making while "saving face."

The lesson is obvious: The "policy of strength" has not succeeded here, either. It should be relegated to the archives, and the sooner the better. The present and future lie with a strong policy—the policy of peace and prudence.

United States & Canada

Shultz Briefs NATO on Shevardnadze Talks

PM1605113588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 May 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Antonov report: "NATO: Consultations With the Allies"]

[Text] Brussels—Immediately after the conclusion of the Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva, U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz flew to the Belgian capital.

A session of the NATO Council at the level of foreign ministers and ambassadors permanently representing the organization's member countries was held in the North Atlantic bloc's headquarters.

According to a NATO press service report, the leader of the U.S. foreign policy department briefed the allies on the results of his talks with USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze and the progress of the preparations for the forthcoming summit meeting between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President R. Reagan.

He noted that, as a result of constructive work, they had managed to resolve virtually all questions raised by the U.S. Senate during its examination of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. The U.S. secretary of state emphasized that, in the course of consultations with the allies at the NATO Council session, they unanimously advocated the treaty's ratification before the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting.

As for the prospects for concluding an agreement between the USSR and the United States on the reduction of strategic offensive arms, G. Shultz said that the corresponding talks are being actively conducted and the discussion of the problem which took place in Geneva was highly useful. But the sides still have differences which have not yet been eliminated.

Carlucci Examines INF Verification

LD1705080388 Moscow TASS in English 0753 GMT 17 May 88

[Text] Washington May 17 TASS—U.S. Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci spoke on the Worldnet television satellite network. Touching on the Treaty on Eliminating Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, he said that at their Geneva meeting Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz settled the questions concerning the verification of the agreement that arose in the last weeks. He said the debates in the Senate were expected to begin this week and, certainly, there was hope that the Senate would give its consent to the ratification of the treaty by the time of the summit meeting.

As regards an agreement on slashing by half strategic offensive armaments, the U.S. secretary of defense holds that the negotiations on strategic offensive armaments should be viewed as a developing process. He said the summit meeting was just a stage in this process.

Noting that meaningful progress was made towards attaining an agreement on strategis offensive armaments, Carlucci said at the same time that thus far the administration did not have intentions to sign the treaty which was of non-specific nature. But we would continue working on it, he said. Certainly, if we are able to attain a good agreement, the President will readily sign it before he leaves the White House.

On working out a mandate for the Vienna negotiations on reducing armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, the U.S. secretary of defense said that movement ahead was observed in this process. At the same time he tried to lay the blame for the delay at the talks on the USSR, tying it to the problem of observing human rights.

Carlucci Speech to U.S.-Israeli Group Criticized

LD1605225188 Moscow TASS in English 2123 GMT 16 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 16 TASS—TASS news analyst Yevgeniy Babenko writes:

The annual conference of the committee on U.S.-Israeli public relations (the last of these was held in Washington on Sunday [15 May]), as a rule attracts much attention. In fact, the committee has a powerful Israeli lobby in U.S. Congress. The lobby, exerting an immense influence on many if not most of the legislators on Capitol Hill, represents the interests of American Jewish citizens, which, in turn, are intertwined, in a complex knot, with the interests of Tel Aviv and the official and unofficial Washington.

It is by no means fortuitous that this time round Frank Carlucci himself, the chief of the Pentagon, decided to use the committee's annual conference for his own ends. The fact is that the U.S. Congress is soon to decide on the outlay to be funnelled into the development of the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) in 1989 fiscal year which starts on October 1.

Those who consider themselves friends of Israel and wish a cut in those appropriations, ought to be asked how they are going to help meet the needs of Israel's security, [word indistinct] exclaimed intimidatingly. Both those attending the conference and the journalists covering it took his statement to mean only this: The U.S. secretary of state decided to recruit the support of the Israeli lobby in order to pressure the Congress into paying even more generously for the "Star Wars" program.

Adopting hard-sell techniques in a bid to get his influential listeners interested in the SDI, Carlucci [words indistinct] Israel is one of the four countries directly cooperating with the Pentagon in this area and receiving money for joint projects under the "Star Wars" program. In exchange for the committee members' favourable attitude to a maximum increase in outlays for the SDI, the defense secretary promised them straight away that U.S. purchases of Israeli arms would continue to increase. Incidentally, these purchases have already increased form 9 million dollars in 1983 to 250 million last year.

Well, Carlucci has pulled through his bidding and bargaining in the best tradition of U.S. politicking. (?However) there is one question the answer to which you will not find in the whole of Carlucci's speech, viz: Who is it that the Pentagon is going to defend Israel from with the help of the SDI? Where is that insidious foe of Tel Aviv to repulse which the American side will be prepared to place its rocket systems in space and even put [word indistinct] in action?

Is there any logic in these pronouncements? Of course there is. Linking the SDI with "ensuring Israel's security" is logical in that for the U.S. military department all means are good to get the money for its pet project from the most dangerous ones—for the "Star Wars" program. With this aim in mind, the Pentagon chief would probably be prepared to harangue—with his voice modualted to carry maximum conviction—even the penguins in the Antarctic. For they will just not make it without the SDI!

Only what money can you expect to squeeze out of penguins? Whereas the Israeli lobby in Congress is quite a different kettle of fish. And, what is more, you can impress them with fine specimens of rhetoric.

Senate Set To Resume INF Treaty Debate

PM1605114188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 May 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent A. Blinov dispatch: "United States: It Is Up to the Senate"]

[Text] Washington—From my viewpoint the accords reached are fully acceptable—this was how the results of the Geneva meeting were assessed by C. Powell, member of the U.S. delegation and assistant to the President for national security affairs.

On arrival in Washington C. Powell met with Senate leaders in the Capitol to brief them on the results of the talks between USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz. G. Shultz will provide additional explanations to a session of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee next Monday.

Following the meeting with C. Powell, the Senate leaders made a positive assessment of the documents on the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles agreed in Geneva. R. Byrd, leader of the Democratic majority in the Senate, declared that, following G. Shultz's statement, it will be possible to move immediately to an examination of the Soviet-U.S. treaty by a plenary session of the Senate. Senator J. Warren [name as published] noted that now he is "more optimistic than ever before about the treaty's future." According to press reports, discussion of the treaty by the Senate will begin Tuesday or Wednesday [17, 18 May].

Could it be expected that the final stage of the treaty's examination will proceed without difficulties? I put this question to Foreign Relations Committee staffers. In their words, the overwhelming majority of senators have expressed approval for the treaty in one form or another. Their votes are sufficient for its ratification. But procedural delays are possible. For example, the notorious Senator J. Helms, who has firmly acquired the title of "Senator No," has drafted several amendments aimed at complicating the debates. They include, for example, a proposal to review the treaty's provisions on how intermediate- and shorter-range missiles should be destroyed. And even a demand to withdraw U.S. troops from Europe—Helms is not sure about their safety in the Old World following the elimination of the two types of nuclear missile arms.

All this indicates that the final stage of the treaty's passage will not be simple. It is believed, however, that procedural tricks should not hinder its ratification. S. Nunn, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, expressed hope that the treaty will be ratified before the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Moscow.

Democrats Delay To 'Settle Scores'

PM1705083388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 May 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Gan article: "Still Uncertain"]

[Text] Washington, 13 May—Reports from Geneva on a definitive settlement of the issues concerning the implementation of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles have prompted a positive reaction here on the whole. As soon as the news came through of the successful conclusion of the talks between USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz, R. Dole, leader of the Republican minority, took the floor at the Senate session, urging the upper house to begin discussion of the treaty—with the object of ratifying it—next Monday. Dole said that Senate must make every effort to approve the agreement before the meeting in Moscow.

A similar appeal was made by Senator B. Adams, who expressed disappointment with the delays accompanying the treaty's passage through the Senate.

However, the leading Democratic senators who are the main initiators of the "objections" to the treaty—basically red tape—have reacted far more cautiously.

Describing the announcement made in Geneva as "good news," R. Byrd, leader of the Democrats, and S. Nunn, chairman of the Armed Services Committee, cautioned against "haste."

Byrd, who, by virtue of his position, is empowered to set the agenda for the Senate, did not name a date for the start of the debate. Instead, he launched into demagogic threats based on anti-Soviet nonsense. It is interesting that it should be the Democrats who have taken the doubtful initiative to create obstacles in the way of ratifying the treaty, in an attempt to settle scores with the Republican administration.

The political maneuvering around this very important treaty is far from over. This means that its future is still uncertain.

Discussion Begins

LD1705093188 Moscow TASS in English 0903 GMT 17 May 88

[Text] Washington May 17 TASS—TASS Correspondent Igor Borisenko reports:

The problems were indeed solved and there are no any reasons impeding the discussion in the full senate of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate and shorter-range missiles. This view was expressed by Claiborne Pell, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, at hearing held Monday. The Democratic senator said that the treaty gave the "stop" signal to the arms race and would provide an impetus to slashing armaments.

U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, who took the floor at the hearings, informed the senators in detail about the Soviet-U.S. talks held in Geneva. He said he could report with satisfaction that the sides solved all problems to their satisfaction. This was recorded in the documents agreed upon by the parties to the treaty in Geneva last week.

Shultz expressed the hope that during the upcoming discussion of the treaty in the full Senate the main attention would be focussed on the merits of the treaty as a whole. The verification regime elaborated during the talks, he furthermore said, is the most specific and most effective in the entire history of arms control agreements.

By this treaty we lay down the new foundation, the U.S. secretary of state said. Performing on-site inspections is a major step forward in the field of elaborating an arms control agreement between the United States and the USSR. It is exactly for this reason that even before the treaty went into force the sides began discussing the questions of how the agreed-upon procedures can be put into effect. Shultz said that the talks in Geneva reviewed the issue of the so-called futuristic weapons and both sides concurred that these armaments fall under the terms of the treaty.

We are almost prepared to begin the discussion of this historic agreement in the Senate, said Robert Dole, the Republican majority leader in the Senate. He said he agreed with the secretary of state that this is a good treaty. It should be ratified.

Dole said he hoped that the senators would be able to finalize their work by the time of the President's visit to Moscow in late May so that it could be possible to exchange the instruments of ratification.

Pentagon 'Pressure' on Congress Deplored

PM1605150788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 May 88 First Edition p 7

[Nikolay Kurdyumov "Viewpoint": "A Hackneyed Method"]

[Text] It is a favorite method of Washington to resort to brandishing the "Soviet threat" whenever the administration wants Congress to approve the appropriations it wants for militarist programs.

Judge for yourselves. In recent days, in connection with the discussion on Capitol Hill of the draft military budget for fiscal 1989 (last Wednesday [11 May] the House of Representatives approved a bill on military appropriations to the tune of $299.5 billion), the Pentagon has been doing its utmost to pressure Congress. The main effort is directed at securing approval of appropriations for work on the SDI program to the tune of $4.6 billion. But there is opposition to these plans in both the House of Representatives and the Senate. This opposition is not only because of financial difficulties due to the intractable problem of the enormous budget deficit. The mood of many legislators is indicated by bills submitted to both houses prohibiting the development, testing, production, and deployment of all space armaments on condition that the Soviet Union does the same.

The legislators' critical attitude is no part of the administration's plans at all. This explains the series of propaganda salvos intended to influence Congress which have issued from the military department.

In a specially prepared overview the Pentagon declared that the United States cannot allow itself to "lag" further behind in the "Star Wars" program because, as a result of the Soviet Union's improvement of its potential, the "asymmetry" that has developed between Soviet and U.S. forces has apparently given rise to a "destabilizing situation which must be rectified." Defense Secretary F. Carlucci did his bit, too. He warned that he would recommend that the President impose a veto on the bill on the military budget for fiscal 1989 if Congress advocates a cut in "Star Wars" appropriations. The Pentagon also timed the publication of the latest "Soviet Military Power" booklet, which is no different from the previous six similar concoctions, to coincide with the discussion of the military budget in Congress.

An interesting and meaningful detail: The "arguments" of the current Pentagon figures are an almost word-for-word repetition of the pronouncements of former military department chief Weinberger. For example, last March, addressing a press conference in connection with the publication of the previous "Soviet Military Power" booklet, Weinberger tried to frighten the audience by claiming that the Soviets were continuing to modernize their strategic offensive and defensive forces in order to "prevail at every level of conflict."

If you leaf through Congress' examination of the military budget a year prior to that, you discover the very same stereotyped leitmotif. Attempting in April 1986 at the House of Representatives Appropriations Defense Subcommittee to justify the Defense Department's budget demands, Weinberger said: "The Soviet Union is actively creating armed forces which will help it achieve its declared aim of extending its control and dominating influence worldwide." As a result, he continued, the correlation of military power which, in some categories, was long in the U.S. favor, "has begun to change in the Soviet Union's favor."

The similarity of the "arguments," repeated year after year, is simply amazing. Propaganda stereotypes and hackneyed methods. Aren't the congressmen sick of it?

U.S. Afghan Policy 'Not Changed'

LD1305194288 Moscow TASS in English 1827 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 13 TASS—TASS news analyst Valeriy Vavilov writes:

Soviet troops have readied. This word usually means the conclusion of the troops' preparation for an offensive, for a military operation. This time a different thing is meant—the beginning of the march home.

It is now talked much about the Geneva accords, about the lessons of Afghanistan. The settlement of the Afghan conflict by peaceful means at a negotiating table opens the prospect for the settlement of other regional conflicts, in other parts of the globe, indicates a real road to their elimination. Such is the main lesson of Afghanistan.

But they in Washington see it differently. The President of the United States asked, for instance, is it not time to apply the lessons of Afghanistan to Nicaragua and show the same allegiance to freedom fighters in the Western Hemisphere. He apparently means by this the stepped up aid to Nicaraguan contras.

The meaning of Washington's allegiance to "freedom fighters" in Afghanistan is well known. Even now, after the signing of the Geneva accords, which clearly and definitely register the obligations of the USA and the USSR, the guarantors of those agreements, they in Washington look for the ways of hampering the process of political settlement. A spokesman for the U.S. Department of State said that Washington does not recognize the legality of the Kabul regime. The United States stepped up the dispatch of new large consignments of armaments for units of the Afghan opposition based in Pakistan. They have already been supplied with heavy 120mm mortars, recoilless guns and "Stinger" and "Milan" missile complexes.

Relying on aid from the outside, the insurgents declare that they will be waging the struggle until the Najibullah government is overthrown. And they do not limit themselves to verbal threats. Residential quarters of Kabul were shelled with "ground-to-ground" missiles the other day. Twenty-three people were killed, 28 others were wounded. There were women and children among them. The leader of the "Peshawar Seven" even threatens the United Nations, declaring that he does not guarantee the security of U.N. observers who, in accordance with the Geneva accords, are monitoring their verificaiton.

Going by Ronald Reagan's pronouncements, Washington has learnt nothing from Afghanistan's example, has not changed its stand and intends to continue pursuing the policy of neocolonialism, the policy of diktat. And this does not lead at all to the elimination of regional conflicts either in Nicaragua, where Washington continues backing units of Contras, or in other regions where coals of tension are smouldering or burning.

The elimination of the conflicting Afghanistan breaks the chain of regional conflicts in the world. But the statement of the U.S. President does not show at all that Washington is striving for that.

Grigoryev Describes White House, USIA Visits

PM1605142988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 May 88 Second Edition p 5

[Ye. Grigoryev dispatch: "Talking With One Another. Notes on a U.S. Trip"]

[Excerpts] Washington-Moscow—Apart from Americans, a surprising number of our delegations were ensconced on the aircraft leaving Washington's Dulles Airport en route for Moscow. The Georgian capital's representatives were returning from Atlanta. They brought back an agreement twinning Tbilisi with the main city in the State of Georgia. A group of girls and strapping young fellows accompanied by instructors turned out to be a team of top-ranked gymnasts, who had taken part in several tournaments in America. Even during embarkation attention was drawn to a large group of young men and women whose posture and movement revealed their professional involvement with dancing. They were in fact performers from the USSR's Bolshoy Theater Ballet, returning home after an intensive but extremely successful tour. Another delegation was the guest of the American Council of Young Political Leaders. Yelena Kalinina, a worker at the Kaluga Turbine Plant and a USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, said that they

had traveled around the country, discussed various problems at a seminar in North Carolina, and talked with congressmen in the Capitol.

So the new dynamism in Soviet-U.S. relations has emerged not just in words but quite concretely. The December summit in Washington provided a marked incentive for bilateral meetings, dialogues, and exchanges. The trip by our delegation, which had been invited for "talks on questions of USSR-U.S. exchange and information" also fell within this movement.

The delegation was headed by V.M. Falin, chairman of the APN Board. It was made up of senior employees of: the CPSU Central Committee; the Foreign Ministry and the Ministry of Culture; the State Committee for Cinematography; the State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade; TASS; the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting; and the mass media of the Ukraine and the Soviet Baltic republics. At the last minute, at the insistent request of the U.S. side, the delegations were also joined by representatives of PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA. But IZVESTIYA political observer Stanislav Kondrashov, a sagacious Americanist, was unable to fly out with us: The State Department had not issued him with a visa. Later we were given the explanation that there had been a misunderstanding and that something had supposedly gone wrong in the Washington bureaucratic mechanism. But facts are facts. Even simple matters in Soviet-U.S. relations are still not insured against malfunctions and surprises.

This was the first time that a Soviet delegation had come to Washington at the invitation of the USIA. The nature of that government department with its close links with the State Department and other sections is obvious. It specializes in circulating the administration's official ideology, policy, and actions abroad and publicizing the "American way of life." The USIA has at its disposal a huge budget, several thousand staffers, and powerful technological resources like the Worldnet television system and VOA.

A couple of years ago even the thought of this sort of meeting would have seemed heretical, indeed incredible both for the Americans and for us. However, times change (apparently faster than mores) and, referring to the contacts in Reykjavik and Washington, the U.S. side proposed holding more detailed discussion on delicate topics of information, exchanges, and so on. If the aim is to seek out ways and means of making it easier for both countries' publics to receive a more complete and more objective impression of their policy and life, then this is indisputably necessary and useful and in accord with the spirit of the times. So we found ourselves in Washington, where we met with a warm reception.

The program for the talks provided for plenary sessions and also discussions in five discussion "clubs": television and radio, publishing, the press, culture, and an official representatives' group. USIA Director Charles Wick had prepared a surprise: A meeting with the U.S. President awaited the delegation.

At the appointed hour we were taken to the White House, having been warned that the meeting would be very brief—a handshake and photo session in the Oval Office. This is a U.S. ritual. It constituted an extremely expressive gesture of attention and respect toward the Soviet delegation.

First we were taken into F.D. Roosevelt's office—an interior office with no windows containing a table surrounded by chairs and several pictures hanging on the walls in addition to a portrait of the great president. The pennants of companies of the U.S. Armed Forces hang on one wall. After being lined up, to make it easier for the visitors to be presented to the head of the administration, we were soon invited to walk down a small corridor into the Oval Office.

R. Reagan, wearing a brand-new brown suit, greeted us on entering: "How do you do?," "Pleased to meet you," "Nice of you to come." Then, when we had formed a semi-circle around his writing desk, he took his hearing aid [slukhovoy apparat] out of his pocket, checked it, and made a brief speech:

"I am pleased to welcome the representatives of the Soviet Union's mass media," he said. "The sooner we manage to organize a frank exchange of opinions, talk to one another, and associate with one another, the sooner we will be able to remove the problems which exist between us. It is always better to talk to one another than to talk about one another," the President concluded.

When I found a moment, I asked R. Reagan about his mood as he goes to Moscow.

"I am looking forward to the trip with anticipation," the laconic response followed.

The audience ended. It had lasted 10 minutes. The President was in a rush. A helicopter was already standing on the White House South Lawn. Television crews and photographic correspondents held their cameras at the ready. A group of Americans—White House visitors—were standing on the edge of the lawn. We were also invited to watch R. Reagan walk across the lawn with a wave of his hand and a smile to the helicopter which then whirred into the air.

That morning the President flew off to Springfield to speak at the Center for International Affairs there. We had in our hands the text of his speech, which bore the label: "White House. Press Secretary's Office. Embargoed until 1310." The speech, which contained many sharp and unfounded assessments of the Soviet Union's policy and also "homilies" directed at the latter was quite fully expounded and commented on in PRAVDA 23 and 29 April, and there is no point in repeating in

detail its rhetoric "about us." It was a pity that the President disregarded his own recommendation that it is better to talk to one another than about one another. Because that's not a bad idea! [passage omitted]

Room 840 at USIA headquarters was allocated to the press group. The room somewhere in the depths of the building also lacked windows—probably so that we would not be distracted: It was a sunny spring day outside! Our partners were the representatives of the major press agencies and of well-known and lesser-known (provincial) newspapers and journals. Joseph Dodge, editor of the NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC, and Loren Gailyoni [name as published], head of Columbia University Press Studies Center, took turns in chairing the meeting.

The discussion took place without a warm-up. The Americans began to complain that glasnost is all very well but foreign journalists have had problems traveling around the Soviet Union, particularly with regard to gaining information and interviews in official departments. As for interviews, many of our departments' leaders have hitherto brushed aside foreign journalists. We know this from our own experience in trying to arrange conversations with them for PRAVDA's foreign visitors.

However, Soviet journalists accredited in the United States also have many comparable difficulties with travel and with interviews if they need to go "higher up." The group soon recommended that both sides think about further facilitating journalists' work. The idea of exchanging articles and commentaries found support. John Wallach, editor of the Hearst concern's international section and one of the organizers of the U.S.-USSR public meeting at Chautauqua, and other colleagues advocated exchanging journalists between Soviet and U.S. newspapers: "So that Americans can see that not all Soviet journalists are enemies of the U.S. people and vice versa."

Yes, what about the stereotypes and the "enemy image"? These questions could not fail to emerge at the center of the discussion. In principle everyone acknowledged the danger of these phenomena, which poison the peoples' minds and deform their ideas about the other side and provide ideological sustenance for the arms race.

One American participant alone affirmed that he could not help but see the Soviet Union as a threat and as an enemy as long as wherever you look you come up against alleged "Soviet military superiority" everywhere. The conversation turned to the source of disinformation. Of course, disinformation is fabricated and circulated deliberately. An example of this is the recent USIA report to the effect that we only engage in "slandering " the United States. Even our U.S. colleagues, with one exception, deemed it unnecessary and an unproductive waste of time to discuss this article.

Disinformation is often engendered by ignorance, incompetence, and incorrect reading of a document. But it is also apt to be engendered by a journalist's negative, stereotyped impression of a particular side's policy or by the logic of the habitual confrontational approach. A NEW YORK TIMES spokesman proposed that amendments and rebuttals be sent in each individual case for publication in the other side's press. There was talk of journalists' responsibility for the authenticity of their information.

Finally we agreed that it would be useful for both sides to carry out a comparative analysis of the information and commentaries published in both countries' press about one another. I think that the Soviet press will by and large have nothing to blush about in this respect. We have not labeled anyone the "evil empire." The Soviet public, indisputably, has more, better information about the United States than the U.S. public has about the Soviet Union. Many more people in our country watch the television hookups, read books by U.S. writers, and watch American movies. Our airwaves are not, as in America, monopolized by our own radio stations. Nevertheless, it does not hurt us international specialists to see whether we sometimes distort the image of "America" and certain other countries. Do we encounter too often only scathing epithets in our country rather than argument and analysis? Don't we often limit the diverse life of the great country to primarily political items?

Without avoiding acute corners, the conversation at the press group was frank, respectful, and in the spirit of cooperation. J. Dodge reported to the plenary session that it was an interesting and fruitful discussion. Other groups' speakers and Charles Wick also expressed similar opinions. Our interlocutors pointed out the importance for them of hearing about the course of restructuring and glasnost in the USSR. A number of groups succeeded in agreeing on specific cooperation projects.

As expected, the discussion regarding possible cooperation in the information sphere proved more complex. The subject is difficult in itself and is linked with ideology, politics, psychology, different methods of information activity, the specific way in which it is is perceived, emotions, and so on. The definition of disinformation concepts is also contradictory. But the discussion showed in general that the problem of representing the other side's policy, aims, and approaches in a balanced fashion and giving the public access to trustworthy, authentic information is literally on our doorstep. Without this we cannot remove the "enemy image" or guarantee the peoples' peaceful coexistence.

It is obvious that, as the new political thinking is established in the delicate sphere of information, so ways will open up for cooperation in the interests of objectivity and truth. The first attempt confirmed the advisability of continuing the quest for ways of establishing more civilized relations between the two great powers and throughout the world.

After the Washington sessions I had an opportunity to fly to St Louis for a short while. I was invited there by the local press club, many of whose members visited Moscow and, in particular, PRAVDA last fall. [passage omitted]

Rick Stoff [last name as published], president of the press club, and Al Goroyan, of Armenian extraction, who is director of the university's information department, met the visitor from PRAVDA at the airport. We went to the press club right away.

It is a surprising feeling to meet familiar faces in a different country, thousands and thousands of kilometers away from home. They vied with one another in recalling their stay in the USSR and their meetings with our people which have left the participants in the trip with very warm feelings. On their return to St Louis, many of them delivered reports and lectures and talked about what they had seen in our country, about restructuring, and about our desire to live in peace and friendship with Americans. Now old and new acquaintances gathered together in the press club spent a long time asking details about our affairs, about glasnost, and about the Soviet foreign policy initiatives and imparted their hopes that after the signing of the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles Soviet-U.S. relations will develop with more stability, for the better, and that the upcoming next summit meeting in Moscow will also facilitate this and help to consolidate peace. Someone handed me a telex from St Louis' KMOKS Radio, one of the largest in the country in terms of its audience, whose chiefs were asking for help in making contact with the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting in order to receive programs about the Soviet Union. [passage omitted]

The participants in the aforementioned trips shared their observations in the aircraft back to Moscow. Their impressions of their meetings with Americans mainly coincided. It emerged that neither time nor recurrences of rhetoric would weaken the potential for amicability which made its splendid appearance in the U.S public during M.S. Gorbachev's visit to the United States. This is an important moment.

It is understandable that there are also other realities. It is still difficult to find a common language with Washington on wider policy. Poll percentages in themselves confirm that many Americans, while saying "yes" to disarmament and the improvement of relations with the USSR, at the same time respond in the affirmative when asked whether they believe in the "Soviet threat." "Cold war" specialists have done sound work. This is all true. Yet the imperatives of the nuclear space age and the new thinking are making themselves felt and the "enemy image" is crumbling.

People's desire to obtain authentic information is increasing. There is still a vast amount of work to be done in this area and it will require great patience. We must indeed learn to talk to one another.

PRAVDA Publishes Senator Kennedy Letter

LD1605152588 Moscow TASS in English 1304 GMT 16 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 16 TASS—The United States and the Soviet Union should cooperate to create a world without threats for their children, U.S. Senator Edward Kennedy said in a letter published in the newspaper PRAVDA today.

The letter was addressed to, and made available to the daily, by Soviet poet Igor Mikhaylusenko who has corresponded with Kennedy for many years.

During his recent visit to the United States recently he made personal acquaintance with the senator, a Democrat, and handed him a "peace letter" raising, among others, issues of Soviet-U.S. relations.

The reply to that letter arrived a few days ago and Mikhaylusenko suggested that it be printed in PRAVDA.

Kennedy said the two countries should refrain from seeing every conflict in the Third World as a threat to their national security.

He added that contacts and honest dialogue between them would ease tension and clear up misunderstandings capable of turning regional rivalry into a superpower confrontation.

The senator said he dreamt of the United States and the Soviet Union using their tremendous human and natural resources to combat poverty and diseases together rather than to wage wars.

He said American-Soviet cooperation in outer space was another interesting possibility.

Kennedy emphasized that the two countries could and should overcome many disagreements and that they had no other choice in the face of the frightening power of nuclear weapons which could wipe out the world.

Tolstykh, U.S. Businessman Discuss Cooperation

LD1405101488 Moscow TASS in English 0844 GMT 14 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 14 TASS—Boris Tolstykh, vice-chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, received on Friday here Edward Hennessey, president of the board of directors of the firm Allied Signal Inc. (USA).

The conversation covered questions pertaining to a broadening of scientific-technical cooperation within the framework of the agreement between the State Committee and the firm.

New Soviet Aircraft for San Diego Show

PM1705073788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 May 88 Second Edition p 1

[V. Chebakov article under the "Details" rubric: "Moscow—San Diego"]

[Text] "Aviaeksport" reports that "An exhibition of aviation and space equipment will be held in the Californian city of San Diego 13 through 22 May."

The Soviet aviation industry will be showing three planes: The AN-124, known as the Ruslan, the world's largest transport aircraft; the SU-26M aerobatics plane; and the Mi-34, the world's smallest helicopter.

The Soviet delegation going to the United States comprises designers, scientists, specialists from various areas of aviation, and foreign trade organization workers. I asked three chief designers to describe the products they will be showing.

P.V. Balabuyev, chief designer of the Antonov Experimental Design Office: "Our 'Ruslan' is now a production plane which performs a variety of tasks in the national economy. It can be proudly stated that the AN-124 is very economical: In terms of transportation cost per tonne-kilometer it has no world equal in fuel consumption. Its scope is increasing—our colossus, with a carrying capacity of 150 tonnes, can already operate out of second-class airfields where hitherto only IL-76's and AN-22's, of the heavy aircraft, have been able to land and take off. We will also be exhibiting our new planes—the Polish-Soviet AN-72, and the AN-74...."

M.N. Tishchenko, chief designer of the Mil Experimental Design Office: "We have built many helicopters in very different weight categories during the enterprise's 40-year existence. During this time the 'Aviaeksport' All-Union Association has sold 2,895 helicopters of various types. And the latest—the Mi-26—is firmly holding first place among heavy rotary-winged craft. We already have orders for it from Britain, and it will become a substantial Soviet export item in the future.

"The world's smallest helicopter—the Mi-34—was built at DOSAAF's special request for the large-scale training of student pilots and for use in sports competitions. It is now undergoing trials. We have put together a whole program of advanced flying maneuvers to be performed by our test pilot, B. Savinov. Every technical innovation has been built into the plane, but it is at the same time easy to service.

"I would like to stress that we want to use this trip to establish business contacts with the world's leading aviation companies..."

M.I. Simonov, chief designer of the Sukhoy Experimental Design Office:

"Work on the Su-26m was not carried out by us as one of our basic tasks. We were mostly thinking about training our cadres. The complexity of modern aircraft increases so rapidly that the standard achieved by designers today quickly ceases to be up to coping with the task. We therefore decided to look at training modern designers to a new standard so that in terms of engineering thinking they were a class above us. We set up the so-called 'youth department.' You can teach people to design planes for any actual task. We turned to the sphere of sports aviation. And that is how the Su-26m was built.

"Its virtually unlimited strength—with a destructive overload factor of 23!—is its main distinguishing feature. To obtain such strength in the Su-26m's load-bearing unit extensive use is made of modern composite materials based on carbon and other organic plastics, which make up more than 50 percent of the weight of the aircraft structure.

"The plane has been flown by the Soviet national squad since 1986. In it our sportsmen have won 108 medals, including 59 golds, in international competitions in the last 2 years."

Reagan Vetoes, Explains Objection to Trade Bill

LD1505102388 Moscow TASS in English 0751 GMT 15 May 88

[Text] Washington May 15 TASS—President Reagan stated that he had no choice but to veto the trade bill which had been worked out by Congress and submitted to him on Friday [13 May] for signature.

"After three years of hard work by the Congress and the executive, it is unfortunate that I have no choice but to send this back to Congress," Mr Reagan said in a regular Saturday radio address to the nation.

"While there are many positive aspects of this legislation, some of its provisions would not move us a step further toward protectionism," Mr Reagan said.

But it is not to the protectionist trend of some provisions of the bill that give rise to the President's objection. "My main objection to the trade bill involves the mandatory requirements it sets down for business to give advance notice of lay-offs or plant closings," he emphasized.

U.S. 'Deaf' to UN Call on PLO Mission Closure

LD1405024188 Moscow TASS in English 2159 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] New York May 13 TASS—By TASS correspondent Mikhail Kochetkov:

The 42nd session of the UN General Assembly today passed a resolution containing an insistent call on the United States to observe its international-legal commitments to the international community of nations, act in

accordance with the international court's decision from April 26 and appoint its arbiter for settling the dispute between the United States and the United Nations.

This dispute was caused by Washington's unlawful decision to close the PLO mission at the United Nations. The United States and Israel were the only countries to vote against the General Assembly's resolution.

For more than six months the United Nations has been undertaking various steps to settle the crisis situation caused by the U.S. Zionist circles who pressed the U.S. Congress into passing a bill, later signed by the President, which gave the ground for closing the PLO'S mission.

Today's voting showed that Washington was remaining deaf to all calls from the international community.

Northeast Asia

Biryukova-Led Delegation Arrives in DPRK

LD1605201188 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 16 May 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A delegation of the CPSU Central Committee led by Comrade Biryukova, in keeping with the plan of contacts between the CPSU and the Korean Workers' Party, arrived today in the DPRK. The CPSU delegation laid wreaths at the Taesong cemetery of revolutionaries and at the liberation monument erected in Pyongyang in honor of Soviet servicemen who fell in battles for the liberation of Korea from the Japanese militarists.

Comrade Biryukova and Yon Hyong-muk, Politburo member and secretary of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee, visited an exhibition of sewn products and other consumer goods being manufactured at enterprises of the UNHA foreign trade company for the Soviet Union according to the terms of a coproduction agreement. During conversation, great attention was devoted to questions of fulfilling mutual obligations on cooperation in light industry, raising the quality, and improving the assortment of goods in popular demand.

JSP's Doi Regrets 'Cool' USSR-Japan Ties

PM1605145788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 May 88 First Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Fruitful Conversations"]

[Text] Tokyo, 12 May—Takako Doi, chairman of the Japanese Socialist Party [JSP] Central Executive Committee, highly assessed the results of her visit to the Soviet Union during which she met with M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in the Kremlin on 6 May.

The conversations which took place in the USSR were fruitful and are very significant, T. Doi writes in an article published today in the newspaper TOKYO SHIMBUN. She expressed the hope that the policy of new thinking, restructuring, and glasnost being pursued by the Soviet leadership will make a great contribution to the transformations in the USSR and the strengthening of peace throughout the world.

The JSP leader noted that during the meeting with M.S. Gorbachev the parties arrived at a united view on a number of problems, particularly international cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region.

At present, the article says, efforts are being made toward a major breakthrough in the USSR's relations with the United States, China, and West Europe. But Japanese-Soviet relations remain as cool as before. This is unfavorable not only for the two countries' peoples but for peace throughout the world.

Commentary Views Uno's Recent Asian Tour

OW1605074988 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 11 May 88

[By station commentator (Naspin)]

[Text] Mr Uno, who was appointed Japanese foreign minister not long ago, has again visited several Asian nations. This shows that Tokyo attaches importance to its traditional relations with Asian nations. As is known to all, it has been a common practice for every new Japanese foreign minister to put forward so-called political principles to make a favorable impression on developing nations, and he often visits the capital of a nation in the Asia-Pacific region to achieve this goal. However, the purpose of this visit is rather simple; it mainly involves bilateral relations. Moreover, there is one common factor for the visit to the three nations: placating local people and politicians who have been angered by the unprecedented remarks by an important figure of the Japanese Government.

What has happened is this: Okuno, director general of the National Land Agency, made an intentionally conspicuous visit to the Yasukuni Shrine last month to pay tribute to the ashes of Japanese war criminals. At a press conference on 24 April, Okuno stated that during World War II Japan was not an aggressor at all and that its military actions in Asia were innocent. He said: During this war, Japan fought to defend its own security. Thousands upon thousands of Japanese slaughtered peaceful civilians in the occupied Chinese provinces, in colonial Indonesia, and in occupied Singapore; Japan invaded these countries because these nations threatened the security of Japan!

It is only natural that his rash remarks have aroused the indignation of Asian nations. As the Japanese press has pointed out: This Japanese politician's flagrant remarks had an adverse effect on Uno's talks with Indonesian

President Suharto. The essence of the matter is not just an insulting distortion of historical facts on the part of Tokyo. The remarks were probably made to justify in advance and serve as a basis for possible aggressions in the future.

With the backdrop of Japan's rapid increase in military expenditure, remarks of this kind are particularly disturbing. In terms of overall combat capacity, Japan's Army is the strongest among capitalist nations in Asia. Japanese Prime Minister Takeshita once said meaningfully: Our military strength should be commensurate with our status as the second biggest economic power in the Western bloc. Southeast Asian nations know clearly that Tokyo has always regarded them as their sphere of special interests. Japan is, for the time being, using economic measures to guarantee these interests. However, how can we be sure that Japan will not use its sharp claws in the future to reinforce its greed?

Those colleagues of Mr Okuno who do not agree with his militarist stand, which is essentially revanchist. [sentence as heard] A Japanese Foreign Ministry spokesman, when asked whether Japan was an aggressor during World War II, avoided making a reply. Will Uno apologize for his colleague's vulgar remarks during his tour of Asian nations? The answer is: Not necessarily. As a matter of fact, he did not make any open apology during his tour.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Further on Thai Prime Minister's Moscow Visit

More on Airport Reception

LD1605134788 Moscow TASS in English 1222 GMT 16 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 16 TASS—The prime minister of the Kingdom of Thailand, Prem Tinsulanon, arrived in Moscow on May 16 for an official visit at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

At Vnukovo Airport, the Thai premier was welcomed by Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and foreign minister of the USSR, and other officials.

The state flags of Thailand and the Soviet Union were hoisted in the airport. A guard of honour from troops of the Moscow garrison was formed on the tarmac. The orchestra played the state anthems of the two countries.

Ryzhkov and Prem Tinsulanon reviewed the guard of honour.

The solemn welcoming ceremony was completed with the march-past of the troops.

The streets and squares of the capital by which proceeded the motorcade escorted by motorcycle outriders were bedecked with the state flags of the two countries and streamers reading words of welcome.

Talks With Ryzhkov Begin

LD1705080888 Moscow TASS in English 0650 GMT 17 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 17 TASS—Soviet-Thai talks opened in the Kremlin today. They are being conducted by Nikolay Ryzhkov, a member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanon of Thailand.

The Thai head of government arrived in Moscow Monday on an official visit at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

Cambodian Conflict Viewed

AU1705091088 Paris AFP in English 0901 GMT 17 May 88

[Text] Moscow, May 17 (AFP)—Thailand's prime minister, Prem Tinsulanon, Tuesday [17 May] called on the Soviet Union to play a "constructive role" to solve the Cambodian conflict, which had "violently destabilised" the South East Asian region in the last nine years.

If the Soviet Union played a constructive role in bringing about a settlement in Cambodia, as it had done in Afghanistan, "it would earn the gratitude of all states in South East Asia as well as a positive attitude of ASEAN towards it", Mr. Prem said in a speech to the Institute of International Relations here.

Thailand is one of the six states of the Association of South East Asian Nations, which along with the United States and China wants the Soviet Union to pressure its ally Vietnam to withdraw the estimated 120,000 Vietnamese troops from Cambodia.

Mr. Prem made his comments after opening talks here in the Kremlin's ornate Catherine's Hall with Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov and Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. He is making the first official visit to Moscow by a Thai Prime Minister in almost 10 years.

Mr. Prem was notably accompanied by his Foreign Minister Sitthi Sawetsila.

The Soviet delegation comprised Igor Rogachev, the deputy foreign minister who has recently held talks on Cambodia in the South East Asian region, and in Paris with U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Gaston Sigur.

In his speech Tuesday, Mr. Prem stressed that the "long-term objective" of the ASEAN alliance remained "the transformation of South East Asia into a zone of peace". But this had been "obstructed" by the Cambodian conflict, which had "violently destabilised the region."

"As long as the problem is unresolved, there can be no real peace in the region," he said.

The Prime Minister stressed that Bangkok was not seeking to "preclude external powers from having a legitimate role in South East Asia", and would welcome a constructive role by them.

"We believe that if the Soviet Union could facilitate a settlement, all the countries would recognise the Soviet Union as a power with which we would all benefit from closer relations and cooperation."

Mr. Prem's two days of talks in Moscow are expected to focus on trade issues, in addition to the Cambodian situation.

Later Tuesday, the two foreign ministers were to sign an agreement on bilateral consultations, witnessed by the Thai and Soviet Prime Ministers.

Mr. Prem was to make a second speech Tuesday at a dinner hosted by Mr. Ryzhkov, in which he was also expected to dwell on the Cambodian conflict.

There was some concern Tuesday in the Thai delegation that scheduled talks with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev Wednesday had still not been officially confirmed. But Soviet officials were confident that the meeting would take place.

A Soviet monthly, which in its latest edition published a political profile of Mr. Prem, noted that his eight-year premiership had been a stormy one, with the suppression of two coup attempts. The review, ECHO OF THE PLANET, praised the Prime Minister's "political insight."

"Time alone will prove correctness of forecasts. We shall assert only that in the political horizon of Prem Tinsulanon there are no reefs that could seriously imperil his ship in the near future," the Soviet article said.

Mr. Prem is visiting the Soviet Union as his country prepares for a general election in two months' time. A military coup attempt took place in Thailand during his absence in September 1985.

Singaporeans Protest U.S. 'Interference'

OW1605074788 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 12 May 88

[Text] Over 4,000 Singapore trade union members assembled on Wednesday to protest the United States' meddling in Singapore's domestic affairs. The assembly criticized the disgraceful activities of Mason Hendrickson, an official at the U.S. Embassy who left Singapore on order of the government on Tuesday. As was known to all, he had tried to provoke a group of Singapore lawyers into opposing an upcoming general election called by the ruling People's Action Party. Participants in the assembly pointed out that there has been more than one such interference in Singapore's internal affairs by the United States.

As everyone knows, not long ago the Reagan administration decided to strip the generalized system of preference status of a number of Southeast Asian countries, including Singapore, starting next January. The Singaporeans were greatly disgruntled by this move.

Near East & South Asia

Further Reportage on Withdrawal From Afghanistan

Afghan Envoy Presents Medals

LD1505151388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 15 May 88

[Text] The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan began today precisely in accordance with the Soviet Government Statement on the Agreements on a Political Settlement of the Situation Surrounding Afghanistan. The fatherland will soon be meeting its sons, who have given internationalist help to a neighboring people at a difficult time. Commemorative medals to the soldier-internationalist from a grateful Afghan people were presented in Moscow today to a group of Soviet servicemen and also to reservists who have fulfilled their duty as soldiers, and who have displayed lofty feelings of internationalism. The awards were presented by Safi', ambassador of the Republic of Afghanistan in the Soviet Union, on behalf of his government. Presentations of commemorative medals to soldier-internationalists also took place in Leningrad, Kiev, Minsk, Tashkent, and Novosibirsk.

Soviet Muslim on Withdrawal

LD1605104188 Moscow Tass in English 1011 GMT 16 May 88

[Text] Tashkent May 16 TASS—"The end of the sacred month of Ramadan has been marked this year by a fine event: Soviet servicemen-internationalists are returning home from Afghanistan, and peace is coming to the Afghan land," said Kazi Abdulgani Abdullayev, deputy chairman of the Moslem Board of Central Asia and Kazakstan.

"The goodwill of the Soviet Union and the determination of the Afghan Government to end the fratricidal bloodshed meet with the unanimous support and approval among the adherents of Islam in the USSR," the religious figure emphasized in an interview with a TASS correspondent. "The Geneva agreements opened the way to peace, and I am confident that all upright Afghans will follow the way hand in hand with their sisters and brothers."

"However, the people of the friendly neighbouring country still have a lot of enemies," Abdulgani Abdullayev said. "It is with bitterness and wrath that we regard reports that the opponents of a settlement in Afghanistan continue to encroach upon the life of their fellow countrymen and co-religionists in order to please imperialist circles. We believe that the will of the people and their striving to live in peace in the native land will triumph. This is what we pray for in our mosques."

Rebel Plans Reported

LD1605105888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0230 GMT 16 May 88

[From the "International Diary" program, presented by Oleg Blinov]

[Text] News agency files are full of reports from Kabul in connection with the start of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan in accordance with the coming into force of the Geneva agreements. The withdrawal will be carried out over 9 months.

Now it is necessary that each of the parties that put its signature to these documents should do everything to implement them. And for the time being the cessation of interference from without in the Afghans' internal affairs remains the pivotal question of the settlement. The material base itself, which is now being used for such interference, must be eliminated.

In a joint statement, the Soviet and Afghan parties expressed the hope that the activities of the UN observers will effectively assist the implementation of the Geneva process. This can and must facilitate the settling by the Afghans themselves of the internal aspects of the Afghan problem, the necessary prerequisite for which has been created by the policy of national reconciliation being pursued in the country.

Of course, it is not to be expected that the process of the withdrawal of Soviet troops will proceed smoothly. This is also shown by open statements by representatives of the Afghan counterrevolution. Thus AFP recently quoted the address at a press conference in Pakistan by Hikmatyar, one of the leaders of the Afghan opposition, to the effect that his detachments are planning major military operations. We did not sign the Geneva agreements, he stated, and are not bound by any cease-fire agreement.

More on Jalalabad Departure

LD1305185788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 13 May 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Preparations are underway for the withdrawal of Soviet troops. This report from our correspondent:

[M. Leshchinskiy, identified by caption] Every day this scale model is studied by commanders, drivers mechanics, and engineers, for it represents the road home, along which every mountain hairpinbend, every bridge and tunnel has already been scrutinized. [video shows scale model of mountainous territory with city of Jalalabad marked on it; symbols and numbers are drawn in at various points] Among the mass of concerns occupying our soldiers at the moment is the problem of handing over military settlements, the most varied types of economic property and domestic services to the Afghans. And, of course all this is being left gratis, for although the troops may be leaving, friendship and cooperation continue. Every little item has been accounted for in special handover deeds and everything has been put in exemplary army order. Afghan specialists have been rapidly trained here on the spot in the operation of boilerhouses, laundries, diesel power stations, and bakeries. In total, the departing Soviet units will leave the Afghans 179 military settlements with residential buildings, clubs, hospitals, and warehouses, and to a large extent these will serve not only the army but civilians as well—the refugees returning home.

Naturally, by no means everyone in Afghanistan feels the same way about things: there are those who are attempting to organize ambushes along the route to be taken by the army convoys and preparing various kinds of sabotage and armed attacks. But still, that is not the main point concerning the events happening now today. In a few days, the chairman of the provincial women's organization, Nahib, says, our friends will leave after helping us in everything for many years. Together with our sons they have fought against the enemy, shed their blood, and perished. The mothers of Afghanistan will never forget this.

[Video shows soldiers sharing out bread] This delivery of bread and flour supplies will also be left to the Afghans, and for a long time this tasty soldier's bread—for which, incidentally, many Afghans have already developed a liking—will recall the young men from the North, who came to the aid of their neighbors.

Jalalabad Unit Returns

LD1605170988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 16 May 88

[Text] The first Soviet troop unit, having discharged its international duty in Afghanistan with honor, has returned home. Here is a report by our special correspondent Vladimir Bezyayev from Termez.

[Bezyayev] Honestly speaking, we are a little bit late. The first helicopter landed without us and the first bread and salt was also presented without us. As you can hear, one helicopter after another continues landing on hospitable, native Uzbek soil. They will spend a few hours here and then, after refuelling, after a little rest, they will set off to their place of permanent deployment. We have succeeded in inviting to the microphone one of those who a few hours back was looking death in the face.

[Soldier] (?I am with the intelligence) of this unit, Major Popkov, Andrey Vladimirovich, secretary of the directorate's party organization.

[Bezyayev] Well, you were the first to receive from the hands of women the traditional bread and salt. Tell us please, what did you do in Jalalabad? What was your main function there?

[Soldier] The main function was to ensure the vital activity of the Jalalabad-Kabul road. Lately, the Afghan people felt that there would be no return to the old ways. They said that previously, under the feudal lords, they had a small plot of land and they had to survive on a small piece of bread and a piece of dry flat cake, and now each of them has approximately 5 to 10 sheep. They don't want to return to the old ways. In conversations with them they say that the revolution has given them a great deal and that there will be no return to the old ways.

Our unit educated two heroes: they are Hero of the Soviet Union Ashirov and Hero of the Soviet Union Rolyan.

[Bezyayev] Please, tell us, what do you feel here, on your native land?

[Soldier] The [word indistinct] feeling was that when we stepped on our land, Soviet soldiers come up to us, congratulated us on our return to our native land, and now, the feeling that there will be no further shellings and that it will not be necessary to hide in trenches and stand behind walls in order not to be hit by fragments of rocket shells. There will no longer be the sounds of [?word indistinct] the antiaircraft mountain-version rocket launchers. Also, there is the feeling that soon we will meet with our relatives.

[Bezyayev] Finally, the first motorized riflemen's unit, which we are expecting here, is coming precisely from Jalalabad, the unit which you have outdistanced and which, to all appearances, you gave cover from the air. Well, you have flown over it. How is the column moving? Normally? Without accidents?

[Soldier] The columns are advancing well. [Word indistinct] groups are not touching them. There is virtually no shelling of the columns. Therefore, we think that we will soon be meeting them in full complement as we saw them off from there and gave them cover from the air. They will probably meet up together with us here in full complement.

[Bezyayev] Well then, may we have happiness and peace on our native land.

[Soldier] Thank you!

Troops Arrive in Kabul

LD1605223388 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 16 May 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] As you know, comrades, on 15 May the Geneva agreements on a political settlement of the external aspects of the Afghan problem came into force and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan began.

[M. Leshchinskiy, identified by caption] Troops of this formation were the first to go into Afghanistan 8 and 1/2 years ago. They are now destined to be the first to go home again. [passage omitted]

Major General Zakharov, head of the political department of the Soviet contingent of troops, read out the message from the CPSU Central Committee to the internationalist servicemen returning from Afghanistan. [passage omitted]

The servicemen are for the last time on the move through Afghanistan where three of their comrades have been made heroes of the Soviet Union, and 3,500 soldiers, sergeants, ensigns, and officers have received state decorations of the USSR. Unfortunately, the list of those killed is not a short one. [passage omitted]

Thousands of people went out onto the road on which the column was moving with flowers, souvenir postcards, and placards; one would like to think that this is the mood of all Afghans, but, unfortunately, the road showed that it was not. On its way, the column encountered three attempts by armed detachments of extremists to attack it with rockets and firearms. This occurred in areas marked on the maps as areas of special alert.

The column arrived in Kabul by evening covered in dust. [passage omitted] The troops arrived in full complement without loss or damage.

[A. Petrova, indentified by caption] Looking at the tired faces of our servicemen, you feel pride in their patience and success in getting through difficult trials, joy that they will no longer fall under the bullets of fanatics, and that they are taking this road for the last time, and in 2 days will cross the border and be home where they are awaited and loved, and of course you feel alarm, because

a third part of the journey has not yet been covered. What these last few hundred kilometers will be like is impossible to predict. [passage omitted]

Thousands of people have come to see off our internationalist servicemen; President Najibullah has come, as have members of the government and clergy, and here, too, are UN observers. [passage omitted] Many kind and good words were uttered today; people remembered how glad everyone was when the Geneva agreements were signed.

Sad to say, on the first day they came into force, they were violated: there were rocket attacks, sabotage and terror, dozens of people killed and severely wounded—many children suffered especially. Leaflets with threats and intimidation are being distributed with demands to stay away from work, not to let children go to school, not to go out. There is no limit to the enemies' cruelty, but the people of the Republic of Afghanistan are ready to stand up for themselves.

President Najibullah said today: I want to convey to you, to your commanders and political workers, the lofty and pure feelings of gratitude of the Afghan people and leadership. Today all the people see you off, dear friends, bon voyage. [passage omitted]

Najibullah Interviewed

LD1305141788 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No. 17, 24 Apr 88 p 1, 5

[Unattributed interview with President Najibullah of Afghanistan: "Najibullah: We are Ready for Nationwide Dialogue"]

[Text] "We have been waiting for this day. We never lost hope that political realism would triumph in the end," said Afghan President Najibullah after the UN-sponsored Afghan-Pakistani talks ended in Geneva.

"Afghans are pleased about the signing of the 'Geneva package'," Najibullah said. "Take the rally in Kabul the other day. Thousands participated: a cross-section of Afghan society, including some who once fought against the people's government and others who returned from abroad.

"Foreign interference in our internal affairs after the April 1978 revolution made our Government turn to the USSR for military assistance. We had no other choice. Foreign interference was threatening our independence and revolutionary gains. We view Soviet military assistance as confirmation of the Soviet Union's fraternal solidarity with our revolution. Now that we have international guarantees that foreign interference in our internal affairs will not resume, the conditions are there for the pullout of the Soviet troops who were fulfilling their internationalist duty.

"The Geneva accords and the Soviet-US INF Treaty prove that there are no problems in the world that cannot be solved. The successful completion of the Geneva process is evidence that other regional conflicts, too, can and must be resolved politically."

[Question] "How do you view Afghanistan's future?"

"As an independent, non-aligned and neutral state. Such is the will of the people, this is what the people voted for in the National Council (the top legislative body) elections. The elections involved more than one party—in addition to the People's Democratic Party, which renounced its monopoly on political power, there were four other parties.

"The Islam opposition leaders again took a non-constructive approach and refused to participate in the elections. But we are hopeful that political realism will prevail among the opposition, too. This optimism is based on the fact that several influential opposition leaders have returned to Afghanistan from abroad. They have expressed support for the national reconciliation policy as well as their readiness to join us in dialogue. Let me reiterate that we are for dialogue with the opposition, without any preconditions, in the name of national accord.

"The Western media is fond of predicting that the people's government will collapse once the limited Soviet contingent withdraws from Afghanistan.

"Those who oppose the people's government in Afghanistan overlook the fact that 13 out of 30 Afghan provinces have no Soviet troops and that some provinces never had Soviet troops at all. Nevertheless, none of the provinces was ever captured by extremist formations. Our Army and the people's militia have proved their ability to independently maintain peace and tranquillity in these provinces.

"History attests to the fact that Afghans can resolve internaal issues independently without outside interference."

Najibullah Farewell to Troops

PM1705131988 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 17 May 88 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed TASS report: "The Soldiers Are Returning Home"]

[Text] Kabul, 16 May—Tens of thousands of Kabul residents converged on the outskirts of the Afghan capital today to bid farewell to Soviet troops leaving for home.

The place is bedecked with the Soviet and Afghan state flags and streamers in Russian and Dari. Soviet military vehicles and personnel are in front of the review stands.

Top Afghan officials, led by President Najibullah, representatives of the command of the Soviet and Afghan Armies, guests of honour and a group of U.N. observers headed by Major General Rauli Helminen, mounted a stand. Also present were mass media representatives from many countries.

The rally began. The commander of the Turkestan Military District, General of the Army N.I. Popov, read out the CPSU Central Committee's address to the Soviet soldiers leaving the Republic of Afghanistan.

President Najibullah took the floor next. "Today the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan begins," he said. "The internationalists, gallant sons of the great Soviet people who have successfully fulfilled their international duty on Afghan soil, are returning home."

"When dark clouds hung in the sky over Afghanistan, when the question of the life or death of the revolution was at stake and a threat had emerged to the country's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity, we needed help. Ample, selfless help to stand out against the enemy. Who could render us assistance in our misfortune? Only our true friend, the Soviet Union," Najibullah said.

"Today we point with gratitude to the fruits of internationalist aid extended by the Soviet troops. You, dear brothers, saved children, women, and old men from a virulent assault by hired murderers.

"It is thanks to your courage and heroism that children go to school, farmers take in the harvest, and workers operate machines. You have also taught our servicemen how to overcome difficulties and defeat enemies in battle.

"It is thanks to your diverse aid that a people's army has been formed in Afghanistan. The Army is provided with modern combat gear and is capable of protecting on its own the country's freedom and independence. You have taught Afghan soldiers not only to defend their motherland, but also to build and extend diverse assistance to people.

"You shared the life of our people, our soldiers, you showed what friendship and comradeship-in-arms are. You witnessed the immense changes that are taking place on our ancient land.

"The Geneva accords were signed thanks to the tireless efforts by Afghanistan, the Soviet Union, India, the United Nations, and all forces on earth committed to peace. In keeping with these accords, the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan will be completed within the next nine months. Today you are starting this historic movement.

"Today, all people, old and young, men and women, are saying forewell to you, dear friends. You are being seen off by our children, who are our future. You are being seen off by farmers and workers. You are being seen off even by those who until recently fought against us.

"Words of gratitude are pronounced in every Afghan home. Thank you, friends, for everything that you have done for the Afghan people, for the April Revolution.

"You have heroically fulfilled your internationalist duty. Afghanistan will be a free, independent, sovereign, neutral and non-aligned state. Your internationalist feat is immortal."

"Now we address Soviet mothers. Your courageous sons are returning home. Accept our gratitude for having brought them up as true internationalists. Our people shall never forget the names of those who gave lives for their happiness. We will remember their names, their ordeals. I propose observing a minute of silence in their memory," Najibullah said.

"In bidding farewell to you, dear comrades, I call once again upon my compatriots to give up their spitefulness and unite under the banner of national peace. And if someone fails to realise that, or to do everything for the sake of attaining this sacred goal, history will never forgive him.

"I am addressing the servicemen of the Afghan Armed Forces. Strengthen combat readiness and vigilance and reliably defend the fruits of national reconciliation. Don't forget that the Afghan people regard you as trustworthy defenders of the revolution, of the freedom and independence of the country.

"I am calling upon the members of the People's Democratic Party, the revolutionary organisation of workers, the organisation of workers and other parties to strengthen the unity of party ranks. Our strength, our future victories depend on our close unity, on permanent contact with the masses.

"I am addressing the Afghan refugees in Pakistan and Iran. Return to your homes in your country. All necessary conditions for your normal life have been created.

"Compatriots inside the country and abroad, the doors of reconciliation and dialogue are open for all. The opposing side should understand that problems cannot be resolved by military means. We invite the opposition, including those abroad, to return home and take part in establishing a broad national coalition, in the government, in the parliament, in all spheres of the people's life. This is an appeal from the motherland.

"We are expressing today our cordial gratitude to all Soviet people, to the Soviet leadership and to General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev for their all-round selfless assistance.

"The Soviet soldiers are leaving, but friendship with the Soviet Union remains. This friendship, dated back to the times of the great Lenin and Amanullah Khan, and it will continue to develop, strengthen and deepen. It will be handed down from heart to heart, from generation to generation," Najibullah pointed out in conclusion.

On behalf of the Afghan leadership, Najibullah presented a Soviet motorised infantry unit with a commemorative banner of the PDPA Central Committee.

The unit commander, Colonel Yu. Starov, addressed the gathering. "We are proud of having performed our internationalist duty with honor. We are glad to hear the high appraisal given by the friendly republic's government of the entire personnel and the presentation of the Afghan Order of the Red Banner to the unit.

"We shall always keep in our memories not only the joint fighting against enemies of the Afghan people, but also the assistance which we jointly extended to residents of villages and towns. We will follow with attention the Republic's life, will rejoice at your successes in handling tasks of economic and social development and the implementation of the policy of national reconciliation."

Bibi Gamar, a widow and mother of a soldier, a member of the society of women and mothers of the fallen fighters for the revolution, was next to speak. "Today, when we are seeing off the courageous Soviet officers and men," she pointed out, "our hearts are filled with sacred gratitude to the Soviet mothers who sent their children to help the neighboring country.

"Soviet people displayed lofty qualities in extending aid to the sick, women, and children, sharing bread and medicine with our people. I want to call them sons of all Afghan mothers.

"Your friendship with Afghan boys is a friendship steeled in trenches, in the battlefield, and in work for the benefit of the people. This friendship is a legacy of fathers and grandfathers, it is our great national pride."

Colonel Barata, a hero pilot of the Republic of Afghanistan, thanked the Soviet soldiers on behalf of the Afghan Army.

The president and other Afghan leaders descended the platform, approached the column of Soviet troops, and presented them with the medals "to internationalist soldier from the grateful Afghan people."

The command "mount vehicles" was heard. To the sounds of a military orchestra, the column slowly stretched along the road leading to the Salang Pass.

Hikmatyar Statement Reported

LD1305214588 Moscow TASS in English 1427 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] Kabul May 13 TASS—An armed group of 57 men stopped resistance in the Daulatabad District, the Fariab Province, having become aware that it is senseless to continue the bloodshed. The former opponents of people's power declared their desire to participate in the process of restoration of peace and security in Afghanistan.

The process of the return of Afghan refugees from abroad is actively under way. 110 people returned to the Nangarhar Province from Pakistan in the past 24 hours. The local authorities rendered them the necessary financial and material aid.

To create favourable conditions for the return of Afghan refugees home the Afghan Government took the decision on establishing a demilitarized zone along the frontier. Units of armed forces of the country have therefore been withdrawn from a number of areas in six provinces of the country, the BAKHTAR news agency reported.

The extremist-minded Afghan counterrevolutionaries would not give up their attempts to thwart the process of national reconciliation, terrorizing the civilian population. Three implacable opposition groups were liquidated in the Paktia and Badakhshan provinces with the assistance of residents of a number of kishlaks. A big quantity of weapons and ammunition was captured in the course of the operation.

Paris May 13 TASS—Speaking at a press conference in Rawalpindi, Pakistan, leader of the seven-party alliance of the Afghan opposition Gulbuddin Hikmatyar has said that his units planned major military operations, specifically on May 15, the FRANCE PRESSE news agency reports. He refused to guarantee the safety of U.N. representatives who are to observe the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. "We have not signed Geneva agreements and are not committed to any ceasefire accord", said Hikmatyar.

The leader of the opposition declined the proposal of a representative of the U.N. secretary general for settlement of the Afghan situation Diego Cordovez that a meeting be held of representatives of all parties to the Afghan conflict.

Cordovez Expresses 'Satisfaction'

LD1605225888 Moscow TASS in English 2249 GMT 16 May 88

[Text] New York May 16 TASS—The United Nations secretary general is quite satisfied that the process of implementing the Geneva accords on the political settlement around Afghanistan has begun. This was said by

Diego Cordovez, special representative of the U.N. secretary general on the situation relating to Afghanistan, at a press-conference held at the U.N. headquarters today.

It is important to stress, he said, that these accords were reached through negotiations and that the intention to implement them in good faith exists on both sides. Cordovez pointed out the complete satisfaction of the United Nations with the explanations supplied by the Soviet side concerning the withdrawal of the Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops from Afghanistan.

PDPA's Kawiani Interviewed

PM1705093188 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 13 May 88 p 3

[Interview with Najmuddin Kawiani, member of the PDPA Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the PDPA Central Committee, by Leonid Mironov, journalist and international affairs specialist, in Kabul under the heading "Success for Common Sense"; date not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The agreements signed in Geneva on a political settlement of the situation surrounding Afghanistan are coming into force. Najmuddin Kawiani, member of the PDPA Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the PDPA Central Committee, talked about some aspects of the present situation in that country in a conversation with journalist and international affairs specialist Leonid Mironov.

[Mironov] Comrade Kawiani, how do you assess the significance of the Geneva accords for Afghanistan?

[Kawiani] I am sure that the situation in Afghanistan has never before been so open to a settlement as now. The Geneva achievement is a success for common sense and the embodiment of the national reconciliation policy. The Afghan people, who have suffered for 9 years from the undeclared war raging in our land and who passionately desire peace, ardently approve of the Geneva agreements. One would like to hope that all the other countries involved in the signing of these agreements will likewise respect these documents and contribute to ending the bloodshed and implementing the national reconciliation policy in Afghanistan.

[Mironov] Pakistan has pledged not to turn its territory into a bridgehead of aggression against Afghanistan. However, it is still giving every possible assistance to anti-Afghan groups. The leaders of the so-called "Alliance of Seven" are still making bellicose appeals from Pakistani soil. What can you say in this connection?

[Kawiani] Need I remind you that the Pakistani Government has put its signature to a pledge not to allow the presence, the concealment in camps or bases, the organization, training, financing, equipping, or arming of political and other groups on its territory for the purpose of conducting subversive activity against the Afghan Government?

To answer the second part of your question, I must say a few words about the religious and political views of the leaders of the "Alliance of Seven." In my opinion, they are the source of the external opposition's implacability, dogmatism, and reluctance to understand present realities.

Four parties in the "alliance" follow a religious trend—Islamic fundamentalism. They demand that Islam be cleansed of all later distortions and developments and call for a return to the state system of the prophet Muhammad's time and the creation of a "pure" Islamic state in Afghanistan. They regard Khomeyni's Iran as a model for such a religious-political system. The fundamentalists are unwilling to share power with any other political forces. What is more, they demand the latter's complete removal from the political arena. The other three parties in the "seven" take a more moderate stand in their claims to power. Aligning themselves with Islamic traditionalists, they favor restoring the prerevolutionary order—even restoring the monarchy. They also give the Islamic religion an important place in the system of state administration, although, unlike the fundamentalists, they do not propose the idea of forming a theocratic regime.

We have repeatedly stated our willingness to talk with the leaders of the opposing side at any time and in any place to discuss all controversial issues, including the composition and political platform of a coalition government. We make only one condition in this respect—that attempts to solve political issues concerning the fate of Afghanistan by military means be stopped.

[Mironov] There is a great deal of discussion, incidentally, regarding the possibility of the return home of former King Zahir Shah—who, as some Afghans believe, could become a symbol of national reconciliation. Has the Afghan leadership considered the question of his return?

[Kawiani] We are not opposed to Zahir Shah's returning to resolve the problems of national reconciliation. His arrival would play a certain useful role. What is more, he could be offered a fairly high post in the coalition administration. However, this matter could only really be decided democratically upon his return.

[Mironov] Hardly has the ink had time to dry, as they say, on the signatures to the Geneva agreements than senior U.S. officials have begun to give assurances of

"firm, reliable support" for the mujahidin, or "fighters for the faith," as they are known in the West. What is this—an appeal to continue the bloodshed?

[Kawiani] Statements like these, unfortunately, are hard to see as being compatible with the guarantees that the United States gave in Geneva. In the last 8 years American military aid to the Afghan counterrevolutionaries has come close to $3 billion. Any deviation from the established accords can only harm the process of an Afghan settlement and, of course, cannot fail to reflect on the authority of a state which has made a pledge before the world community.

[Mironov] The new political system in Afghanistan provides for a diversity of parties in the political sphere and structural diversity in the country's economy. How is this reflected in Afghan life today?

[Kawiani] Our party has rejected a monopoly on power. An alliance of left-wing democratic parties has been formed in Afghanistan incorporating, in addition to the PDPA, two other parties—the Organization of Revolutionary Working People of Afghanistan and the Organization of Working People of Afghanistan. The alliance advocates improving the people's living conditions, developing and strengthening the state sector, and encouraging private enterprise in order to develop the economy and eliminate backwardness. Other political parties—the People's Islamic Party of Afghanistan, the Peasant Justice Party, and others—are in the process of formation.

As far as the national economy is concerned, at the present stage considerably greater attention is going to be paid to the private sector. It will also develop as a result of forming joint enterprises with the Soviet Union. Contracts have already been signed to create 50 of these joint enterprises in various provinces of the republic. Bicycle production will be organized at one of them. Bakeries, textile mills, and fur factories are going to be opened. A total of 60 percent of the capital for these joint enterprises will be put up by private entrepreneurs, and the Soviet Union will provide the credit and equipment for the remaining 40 percent. We hope that this form of cooperation will also attract other countries.

[Mironov] Your country is about to receive millions of refugees. How are you preparing for this?

[Kawiani] This is not an easy problem. The refugees will arrive via special admission points at Towr Kham and Spin Buldak on the Afghan-Pakistani border and at Eslam Qal'eh on the border with Iran. UN inspection groups will soon begin work in these places. The refugees will immediately receive material, medical, and other necessary aid. Their land will be returned to them. The state will cover all the costs. The Soviet Union has come to our aid again, covering part of the cost of taking back the refugees.

[Mironov] What would you like to say, Comrade Kawiani, to the Soviet servicemen who will begin to leave your country on 15 May this year?

[Kawiani] The popular expression "We met as friends and part as brothers" is particularly significant at this time.

The Afghan people have been saved more than once by their Soviet brothers at the most difficult, complex, and dangerous moments in their history. At the critical time when our enemies no longer doubted that the cause of the April Revolution was doomed, the Soviet people shared their bread and salt with us and gave us all the help we needed. At the moment when we were under deadly threat, they shared their most sacred possession with us—their good strength, their sons. They came to us, the children of the Land of the Soviets, in the name of peace and freedom, and they saved us. They showed us an example of real internationalism and revolutionary patriotism in combat. Their people saved our people!

Bidding farewell to the Soviet servicemen, we will grieve the bitterness of our loss—the loss of our brothers who gave their lives for our people. All those who died heroes in our mountains, ravines, and valleys will be remembered for eternity.

I would like to say to the servicemen leaving our country that their truly internationalist feat of arms will never be forgotten by our people.

Afghan Commander Gromov Profiled

PM1705094388 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 May 88 First Edition p 2

[Reportage by own correspondents Lieutenant Colonel V. Nikanorov, Lieutenant Colonel A. Oliynik, and Major N. Burbyga profiling Hero of the Soviet Union Lieutenant General V. Gromov under the rubric "People of Duty and Honor": "The Commander"]

[Excerpts] When Lieutenant General V. Gromov is asked about his most lasting impressions from his service in Afghanistan, he always returns to the very first days. "Those were the days," he said when we interviewed him in connection with the bestowal on him of the title of Hero of the Soviet Union, "when I, like most of the other officers, really came to understand for the first time what lies behind every red arrow drawn on the commander's map, when I came to understand the enormous responsibility that is shouldered by the commander who makes the decisions when, for every mistake he makes, even the smallest blunder, there is a high price to pay in human life...."

In the hot summer of 1980 a particularly alarming situation began to develop in the north of Afghanistan. Mortar fire and surprise attacks on villages and garrisons of our force and Afghan forces housed in tents grew more frequent. The opposition was building up its armed

formations and their sallies became more and more brazen. Soviet and Afghan servicemen faced the task of flushing out the counterrevolutionary forces from their den. And it so happened that Colonel Gromov not only had to draw up the plan, but also to implement it, to lead people into battle.

It seemed that everything had been done to ensure that the enemy was taken unawares. However, in practice it turned out quite differently: The one and only road was literally strewn with foreign mines and full of obstructions. Every meter of progress cost an incredible effort.

To make matters worse, we might come under attack at any moment. Where would the attack come from? What was the best location for the command and observation post? These and many other questions had to be solved quickly and faultlessly. After all, any mistake could cost many people their lives.

Nonetheless, it was impossible to entirely avoid mistakes. Gromov decided to stay close to the subunits, but he failed to take account of the enemy's treachery and of the nature of combat in the mountains. And he paid the price. No sooner had the staff vehicles entered the plateau where the command and observation post was to have been established than explosions rang out. The fire came nearer with every minute and the mobile groups of rebels which had managed to get through were getting ever closer. Colonel Gromov made a decision which was not easy—he ordered the regimental artillery to direct its fire in the vicinity of the command and observation post....

This was one of the consequences of the mistakes characteristic of those days, Boris Vsevolodovich reminisces. To begin with, we frequently made decisions without having a sufficiently good idea about the enemy's forces and resources and without paying sufficient attention to his specific tactics.

Lieutenant General Gromov has been entrusted with one of the most difficult and responsible jobs in the Army today, V. Varennikov, first deputy chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, told us. He is distinguished by a high sense of duty, great self-control, and a very valuable quality in a military leader—foresight. The decisions he makes are based above all on a striving to ensure people's safety and on the rigorous demand that combat tasks be fulfilled with the smallest possible losses. A vivid example of this was the successful implementation of the large-scale operation code-named "Magistral" [Highway]....

This was the name of the operation to breach the blockade of Khowst, which was carried out in cooperation with the Afghan forces. Khowst District, which juts in a sharp wedge into Pakistani territory, was besieged for a number of years by large opposition formations and became one of the counterrevolution's strongholds. More than 100 detachments of formations, like that of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan, were concentrated here. The biggest grouping under the command of Jalaluddin, numbering some 5,000 men and equipped with the latest U.S., British, and Pakistani weapons, including portable antiaircraft missile complexes, was blocking the road. To all intents and purposes, the population of Khowst and the local grouping of Afghan forces were under a blockade; aid was flown in by air.

Abiding by the humanist principles of the policy of national reconciliation, the Afghan Government tried, with the assistance of the delegates of Loya Jirgah, to open the road by peaceful means in order to deliver bread, medicines, and essential goods to the district's starving population. Negotiations with Jalaluddin's representatives, elders of the Zadran tribe, went on for 20 days. However, the leaders of the counterrevolution chose treachery, they used the respite to regroup their forces and mine the road and the approaches to it. They forced the population to leave for the mountains and across the border. Western radio voices described the Sataw Kandaw pass, where the main rebel forces were concentrated, as "an inaccessible fortress of the fighters for their faith."

It is true that the rebels had, under the leadership of foreign military advisers, built several lines of defense installations here, constructed according to the latest achievements of engineering technology by Western specialists, and a strong antiaircraft fire plan making use of the commanding heights, on which air defense complexes, mountain antiaircraft installations, and large-caliber machine guns were installed. It seemed that the multilayered fire plan in the pass could not be captured without great losses.

Lieutenant General Gromov spent many a sleepless night trying, together with staff officers, to resolve this task. And they found a solution. A paratroop assault force was landed on the pass. As soon as the aircraft released the parachutists from a great height, the men came under intense antiaircraft machinegun fire. In turn, the rebel fire positions, which had thus been revealed, were subjected to accurate bombing and strafing attacks by Soviet and Afghan aircraft. Then an artillery barrage was mounted. This is how the strong fire plan in the pass was conquered. Virtually without losses, since the parachute assault force was a decoy. Only after the air and artillery attacks did Soviet and Afghan servicemen in a lightning attack under cover of darkness capture the commanding heights of the pass. The highway to Khowst was open.

In this operation the courage, tactical skill, and initiative of many soldiers and commanders were fully revealed. It also showed Lieutenant General Gromov's ability to learn from mistakes and to achieve success in battle through skill rather than numbers. That January the omnipresent commander's staff armored vehicle and two helicopters were always to be found where the

success of the operation was being decided. Gromov's smart figure could frequently be glimpsed at fire positions or in the dugouts of the guard posts and blocks along the road to Khowst.

The commander highly appreciates diligence, great professionalism, and knowledge of military matters in people and above all in officers. Being himself no coward, he regards it as most important that a commander of any rank should always set an example and display fearlessness in battle. With pride he cites the names of young officers from the N [not further identified] Guards Parachute Assault Regiment under the command of Hero of the Soviet Union Guards Lieutenant Colonel V. Vostrotin and Guards Senior Lieutenants S. Tkachev and Yu. Gagarin.

One night, missiles and mortars began exploding on Hill No 3234 where an assault force had taken up position. Under cover of fire, thick chains of rebels from the so-called death squads and Pakistani commandos were making their way to the height. The assault force did not flinch. Putting up an all-round defense, they rebuffed 12 attacks. They fought for 7 hours. Officers Tkachev and Gagarin occupied the most difficult positions. Following their example, all 39 members of the parachute assault force fought bravely and without fear.

The selflessness and heroism of the internationalist servicemen have been described meaningfully and with heartfelt conviction by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in the Statement on Afghanistan, Lieutenant General Gromov said. This statement made a high appraisal of the military labor of the personnel of the Limited Contingent, which has fulfilled its internationalist duty with honor. [passage omitted]

Concern for people.... This is a characteristic feature of the commander's style of work. The Political Department, the staff, and all the Communists in the Limited Contingent are oriented toward this. Few party meetings of commanding officers, sessions of the party commission, and meetings of the personnel in units take place without heated, critical speeches on the part of the commander.

In his work with people, Boris Vsevolodovich does not tolerate poor standards and he demands the same from others, Major General A. Zakharov, chief of the Political Directorate of the Limited Contingent of Soviet Forces in Afghanistan, said. He is notable for his high party qualities and principledness....

The commander receives a vast amount of mail. He gets letters from comrades-in-arms and parents of servicemen who are serving in Afghanistan.

I have also received quite a few letters which contained a single request, Boris Vsevolodovich says smiling, a request from parents for assistance in getting their son transferred to Afghanistan.

Clearly, many servicemen and officers are drawn here by their sense of duty, by the opportunity to prove themselves in a difficult situation. Well, that is understandable. Gromov's pupils include Heroes of the Soviet Union Colonel Ye. Vysotskiy, Lieutenant Colonel R. Aushev, bearers of combat orders Colonel V. Ogorodnichuk, Lieutenant Colonel V. Dolich.... It is impossible to name them all....

These are particularly busy days for Lieutenant General Gromov. Many problems, big and small, have to be resolved, dozens of people are turning to him with urgent questions. For today, 14 May, a meeting with Soviet and foreign journalists is scheduled at which the commander of the Limited Contingent of Soviet Forces in Afghanistan is to answer questions connected with the withdrawal of our forces. However, in his thoughts he is returning again and again to the past, recalling people and events, and there is nothing at the moment that pleases him more than taking pride in his comrades in combat and in the knowledge of a duty well done.

He is also thinking about this country which has suffered so much, about the help that has been given its people in defending the new life, building schools, offering medical assistance, and strengthening friendship. A friendship which is destined to live on.

Gromov Cites Aid Figure

OW1605012888 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 14 May 88

[Text] Preparations for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan have been completed. This was disclosed by Boris Gromov, commander of the Soviet forces in Afghanistan, to a Moscow Radio reporter.

Recalling the past 8 and 1/2 years until 15 May when the Soviet troops begin their pullout, Army Lieutenant Colonel Gromov [title as heard] made the following remarks: The Soviet troops have faithfully worked for the cause of peace, helping the Afghan people's efforts to defend their independence and do away with foreign intervention. In addition, they have constructed schools, apartment houses, and facilities for social activities, and worked to build roads. They also provided their Afghan friends with various facilities worth R600 million, including apartment houses, hotels, buildings for club activities and dormitories.

More on Gromov News Conference

PM1705123988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 May 88 Second Edition pp 1, 6

[Report by PRAVDA special correspondents A. Gorokhov, B. Kotov, and V. Okulov: "Days of Hope and Anxiety"]

[Text] Kabul, 14 May—There are a great many things in Afghanistan that make one think of eternity. Eternal mountains beneath an eternally blue sky. The caravan tracks among the mountains, established in antiquity. Even the adobe structures in the ravines seem to have sprung up through dense layers of rocks and centuries.

The present generation of 10- to 15-year-old Afghans, who cannot remember the land when it was peaceful, perhaps regard as eternal the tragic signs of war, the most innocuous of which is the endless drone of transport aircraft corkscrewing at night to a safe altitude above Kabul where they cannot be reached by American-made "Stingers." At the PRAVDA correspondents' center we often hear artillery firing day and night: Afghan guns firing at targets, trying to put a stop to the efforts of "irreconcilable" armed opposition groups to hit residential districts in the capital with surface-to-surface missiles. They are not always able to prevent them....

But there is an increasing hope that Afghans—both those taking their first steps in life and all others—will be able to see a different homeland. After nearly 18 months of national reconciliation, Geneva has broken the wartime pattern of life in the country. There came together two streams, as it were, of peace-making—the internal, shaped by the policy of national reconciliation, and the external, intended to ensure tranquillity around Afghanistan.

It is on 15 May that the Geneva agreement comes into effect. On that day the first units of the limited military contingent of Soviet troops start their trek to the Afghan-Soviet border. The stage-by-stage return of our internationalist troops to the homeland begins.

From that date, according to the Geneva agreements, there must be no interference of any kind in Afghan affairs. In other words, as of 15 May Pakistan has to remove all the material foundations of interference—the innumerable bases and centers where Afghan opposition formations are trained—and stop arming and financing them. Afghanistan and the USSR are firmly on the path of unswerving fulfillment of the Geneva accords. The other parties now have to adhere consistently and precisely to the agreements.

Our friend Nur Ali, filling up the correspondents' center car at the gas station, certainly does not think in political terms when addressing the topic. But he has an opinion. And he expresses it clearly:

"Let Pakistan and the Americans keep their word and stop interfering in our affairs. And we Afghans will decide what kind of regime we need.

"Right," Qasim Dehati, a teacher, told us. "No normal person in Afghanistan wants fratricide. But peace has its enemies abroad—the extremist section of the opposition...."

People here are not blind to the fact that the extremist leaders ensconced in Peshawar are intent on realizing their ambition: Power! At any price! The "Peshawaris'" reaction to Geneva is well known—fight to victory. They are prepared to do violence to their compatriots just because the latter want to live in tranquillity and peace.

Absolutely everyone we talked with in Kabul and Jalalabad convinced us that Afghans are pinning their hopes of an end to the bloodshed on the implementation of the spirit and letter of the decisions reached in Geneva. We believe, our interlocutors told us, that Geneva has brought us closer to peace, although it has only put a stop to the undeclared war and has not erected any obstacles to the continuation of the civil war. Of course, there will be armed groupings of opponents of state power who will continue to swim against the national current. Their bosses in Peshawar reject the agreements because they know that if the barbed wire of bans on returning home, which currently surrounds our refugees in Pakistan, is removed, 90 percent of those currently on the other side of the frontier will return. The extremists could be left isolated.

We got the feeling during meetings in Kabul that the Afghan general public is worried not only by the unremitting bellicosity of some of the opponents of reconciliation, but also by the ambiguous position of the Administration of the United States which, on the one hand, is acting as guarantor of the Geneva accords and, on the other, is effectively inciting the opposition to continue the civil war even after the Soviet troops have left Afghanistan—when, you would think, the apologists of a "holy war against the infidel" would have no arguments left in favor of continuing it.

The "Peshawaris" counter the Afghan leadership's desire for compromises with an adamant desire to seize power in Kabul, the wide representation used to conceal it being a mere pretense. Flexibility born of the difficult experience of leading the country, or a fanatical desire for power bereft of any practice of creative work and based only on personal ambition—what will prevail? Life more often than not opts for the former, although no one can guarantee it.

As for the commanders of so-called "second echelon" armed detachments operating on the country's territory, who do not aspire to leadership in the capital, unlike some leaders of the "Peshawar Seven," in the new conditions they will have more reason to seek involvement in the administration bodies when power is shared out in the provincial-level coalition structures. Especially as their habit of destruction is unsuited to the organization of peaceful life in the territories they currently control, where only the state authorities have experience of creative building.

Despite the enormous wartime problems, they have safeguarded the development of the national economy. Soviet assistance has played a crucial role in this. The 9-year military conflict has been a severe test for the Afghan economy.

What economy could endure that without losses? Yet here, for example, are the results of the Afghan year of 1366, which ended recently. As Prime Minister S.'A. Keshtmand said, GNP increased by 2.4 percent compared with the previous year and national income increased by 2.3 percent. Some 170,000 tonnes of wheat—a rare total for that country—were bought from the peasants.

With the assistance of the Soviet Union, of the Soviet advisers and consultants working in various sectors of the Afghan economy, cadres have been trained who are capable of tackling the tasks of the country's further development. Appreciable successes have been achieved in education, in eliminating illiteracy.

Despite major mistakes made in the course of the revolutionary process and despite the complex problems that are being tackled, the state authorities and the PDPA—the initiator of and motive force behind national reconciliation—have good opportunities for further strengthening their influence among the different strata of the population. It is important, party members told us, to be able to realize them.

...The Afghan capital is decorated with flags and placards. They bear words of gratitude to the Soviet internationalist soldiers leaving the country and salutes to Afghan-Soviet friendship. The world public is immensely interested in the events taking place in Afghanistan at the moment. Foreign journalists—television commentators, newsmen, and photographers—have descended on Kabul. They include Soviet colleagues of ours. Some of the pressmen will be able to accompany the Soviet soldiers as they leave. For the time being, the reporters are looking around the Afghan capital, talking with the inhabitants.

We have been interviewing too.

Demobilized soldier Kamin Gul:

"My civilian profession is agricultural machine operator. I have firmly decided to return to my village. There should be tractors in the fields, not tanks. The implementation of the Geneva accords makes this perfectly possible."

Muhiba, worker at a Kabul plant:

"I will say this to women in all countries: Support the Geneva decisions, demand their strict implementation! They have given us hope of peace."

Nasrin, a nurse at a Kabul maternity home:

"We are all very much looking forward to the mass return of the refugees, our dear compatriots. Geneva has opened the road wide. The return of Soviet troops from Afghanistan is beginning. Fond memories of the friends from the USSR who helped us at a difficult time will remain forever in our hearts...."

This is what we have heard here at this time of hope and anxiety.

Today the representatives of newspapers, magazines, agencies, radio, and television from all over the world showed exceptional interests in the press conference given by 44-year-old General B.V. Gromov, graduate of two military academies, Hero of the Soviet Union, and commander of the Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops in Afghanistan.

There was an animated reaction to the answer to an Italian journalist's question: "Will you respond to any possible attacks during the withdrawal?"

"It would be interesting," the commander said, "to hear the correspondent's answer to that question."

"How do you explain the considerable number of Afghan refugees in Pakistan?"

"Obviously, we have to 'thank' for this, above all, the Peshawar-based counterrevolutionary grouping of those who, for example, this morning blew up in a busy part of Kabul a bus packed with explosives, killing 11 people and injuring 13."

(Incidentally, one of the terrorists who committed the crime was arrested. He is called Shinwar Safdar, a native of Laghman Province and a member of Gulbuddin Hikmatyar's grouping. On the same day extremists fired rockets into the capital's Chaman-e Baraqi District. An old man and two children were killed and several people were injured by two rockets).

A REUTERS representative asked: "Is it true that Soviet troops have already left Jalalabad?"

"The withdrawal of troops from Jalalabad begins tomorrow, 15 May, and you know that very well," the commander replied. "More than 1,000 men will be leaving, plus equipment, and in the next few days all the Soviet soldiers will leave the garrison."

Concerning the withdrawal schedule, the commander reported that more than one-half of the contingent, the numerical strength of which will be made known in the very near future, will leave Afghanistan during the first 3 months. Troops will leave 11 of the 18 garrisons, that is, they will leave 9 of the 14 provinces where they have been up until now. They will hand over to their Afghan friends more than 170 fully equipped military camps—a considerable number of them to the republic's national economy.

General Gromov said that the Soviet side is well aware what brand-new weapons the opposition has obtained recently, including portable antiaircraft complexes, rockets, antitank weapons, and so on.

"On the other hand," the commander noted, "the government forces' combat potential has dramatically increased. Primarily U.S. support for the opposition which has rejected Geneva could, of course, influence the implementation of the Geneva agreements, but not to such an extent as to wreck the withdrawal schedule. Retribution would immediately follow any attempt to disrupt the schedule.

"Home beckons the Soviet troops," Boris Vsevolodovich said in conclusion. "They are returning having honorably carried out their international duty, and we will never forget those who died on Afghan soil. We are leaving friendly Afghanistan with a feeling of deep respect for its people, its working people."

"General Gromov is about to implement the Geneva agreements, so let us now give him the chance to get on with the job," V.N. Sevruk, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department, said, bringing the press conference at Kabul's Intercontinental Hotel to a close.

Gromov on Pullout Schedule

LD1405125588 Kuwait KUNA in English 0911 GMT 14 May 88

[By Adib al-Sayyed]

[Text] Kabul, May 14 (Kuna)—Commander of the Soviet forces in Afghanistan Lieutenant General Boris Gromov Saturday affirmed his country's full adherence to the schedule set for the pullout of his forces.

In a press conference held here on the occasion of the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, the Soviet commander said that his troops will withdraw from nine governorates tomorrow, indicating that they are deployed in 14. The 44-year-old ranking officer denied that the opposition forces would be able to obstruct the Soviet retreat, warning that the Soviet troops will strike violently at any attempt by the opposition. Gromov said that there is no fear for the lives of the Soviet soldiers remaining in Afghanistan, emphasizing that Afghan Government will protect Soviet citizens working in Kabul.

He refused to state the number of Soviet troops in Afghanistan or the number of casulties they sustained, pointing out that all details will be announced soon.

Gromov said that the Soviet withdrawal just before the U.S.-Soviet summit, scheduled for later this month, should strengthen relations between Washington and Moscow.

On the other hand, he said that the Soviet forces have not withdrawn from the city of Jalalabad, denying that government troops lost control over Kandmar [place name as received]. He also denied that the Soviet forces bombarded residential areas in Afghanistan or Pakistan.

In other developments, a booby-trapped car explosion rocked a hotel in downtown Kabul, killing 11 people and injuring 13 others.

Kabul Situation Viewed

PM1605110188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 May 88 First Edition p 1

[Dispatch by special correspondents Lieutenant Colonel V. Nikanorov, Lieutenant Colonel A. Oliynik, and Major N. Burbyga: "Hot May in Kabul"]

[Text] In these hot May days the situation in Kabul and indeed in the country's other cities and villages is not serene.

Armed opposition groups acting on instructions from those who do not want an end to the bloodshed have by no means laid down their arms. Caravans with these arms continue to travel to Afghan soil from Pakistani territory. But as of 15 May—the day when the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan elaborated under UN auspices come into force—each such caravan will mean a violation of the spirit and letter of the documents signed in the Swiss capital by representatives of four states.

How important it is now to prevent such a turn of events. To fill with real life every line of the "Geneva package" documents, whose signing became possible thanks to the positive collaboration of the USSR, the United States, and other states, thanks to the Afghan leadership's clear course toward national conciliation.

Acting in the spirit of the new political thinking, the Soviet Union and Afghanistan have adopted a bold, courageous decision on the withdrawal of the Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops from Afghanistan, and they are prepared to and will unconditionally observe the Geneva agreements. The same approach is also essential on the part of the other sides. The Afghans expect this. Honest people throughout the world expect this.

Kabul is living a full life now. Numerous stalls have opened, a crowd of oriental flavor is milling in the city center, and children are rushing to their schools and high schools in the mornings. Despite criminal provocations like the shelling of Kabul, the enemies of the course toward national conciliation have not succeeded in sowing fear and panic in the city. The plotting of the armed groups of "intransigents" is being thwarted by the Soviet and Afghan Army servicemen.

We visited an Afghan military unit whose subunits are constantly taking part in combat operations. The unit commander told us of the strong friendship between the Afghan and Soviet servicemen, who have frequently resolved combat tasks jointly. Many volunteers are serving in this army. We talked with one of them. Private 'Abdul Ghafar has been serving for 18 months now. Before that he was a schoolteacher in Konduz Province. He taught English. Armed bandits attacked his school twice and twice it was in flames. 'Abdul Ghafar was a member of the self defense detachment and then decided to join the army as a volunteer.

"I have two sons," Ghafar says. "I want them to grow up as educated people useful to our society. The April revolution opened up this opportunity for them, as it did for millions of other small citizens of the country."

Our talk was interrupted by an abrupt order. The mustering of a battalion to leave to guard Kabul had begun. The battalion commander, the smiling Captain Sayyed Qasim, is sure that his subordinates will cope with the task.

"There are brave soldiers serving in our battalion," the officer says. "They include Muhammad Naser, Majidi Talyabuddin, Muhammad Salim—you cannot list them all. Some of them, like Talyabudin for instance, are serving as volunteers for the second time. We believe," the captain continues, "that the people will not surrender the gains of the revolution. We believe that the policy of national reconciliation will gather strength."

The policy of national reconciliation is the compass which can lead the Afghan people out of the impasse of internecine fighting. But for this it is necessary not only that no one should drive the people from their correct course from the outside, it is also necessary that every Afghan should see the arrow of this compass and understand that it is pointing in the right direction. How to ensure that the ideas of national reconciliation become close to people's minds and hearts? A complex task, if you consider that the illiteracy rate here is still high and that a luxury like a newspaper is accessible to only a few. The "newspaper without paper or distance" is coming to the rescue.

Every day the call sign of the "Afgangak"—"the Afghan's Voice"—radio station is heard on the airwaves.

The radio station performs extensive educational work, explains to the population the aims and tasks of the Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops which came to Afghan soil after the repeated requests of the country's legitimate government, and exposes the fabrications of enemy propaganda. There have always been plenty of these fabrications and they are particularly numerous now. For instance, here is a recent story: The departing Soviet convoys allegedly intend to take all young women from the surrounding settlements.

This is rubbish, of course. But an ignorant, cowed person might believe it. And it will be easy then to persuade him to take up arms. The "Afghan's Voice" broadcasts are devoted to the Soviet internationalist servicemen and their noble deeds on Afghan soil. One of these broadcasts, for instance, describe the exploit of Private Amantur Uyshanov, who risked his life to save three Afghan children in a settlement put to fire by the bandits. Finding out later the address of the children's home to which they had been sent, the soldier wrote a letter to the workers at the Kirghiz plant where he had worked before being drafted. And soon a parcel with toys for the Afghan children arrived at the children's home....

Soviet servicemen came to Afghan soil not as enemies but as friends. Having honestly fulfilled their duty, they are going home.

Prospects for Peace

LD1605140388 Moscow TASS in English 1319 GMT 16 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 16 TASS—By a TASS diplomatic correspondent:

Last Sunday saw the start of the Soviet troops withdrawal from Afghanistan in keeping with the Geneva agreements. The Limited Contingent had been sent to that country at the request of its legitimate government with honest and noble goals.

The pull-out of the Soviet troops could have started earlier had the Geneva accords been concluded before, as stressed in the joint Soviet-Afghan statement of May 15.

The entry into force of the Geneva accords may and should make it easier to settle internal aspects of the Afghan problem. The policy of national reconciliation, pursued in Afghanistan, has already created necessary conditions for such a turn of events.

The adoption of the Afghan Constitution, proclamation of the multi-party system, parliamentary elections, return of 120,000 refugees, the fact that 40,000 armed opponents took the side of the government and many other political and social and economic measures attest to the sincere striving of the Afghan Government and the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan to attain national peace.

The government is preparing conditions for the return of the refugees, allocating substantial sums for transportation, manufacturing goods and foodstuffs the repatriation will involve.

Ending outside interference in the Afghan affairs remains the core of the settlement. The complete and conscientious fulfilment of the sides' commitments will

make it possible to achieve the earliest solution to the external aspects of the Afghan problem, which, in turn, will give a fresh impetus to a comprehensive Afghan settlement.

The agreements signed in Geneva entered into force. It is now the duty of each side which put its signature to the Geneva package to do everything to achieve the goals set out in those accords.

Afghan 'Troubles' Ahead

LD1705145588 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 17 May 88

[Excerpts] [Announcer] On Sunday the Soviet Union began withdrawing its troops from Afghanistan. [passage omitted] There are obviously some troubles looming ahead for the future of that country. On the eve of the withdrawal date, a truck bomb exploded in central Kabul on Saturday and three rockets landed on the outskirts of the city, causing death and damage. Let's hear more on the situation in Afghanistan.

[Second speaker] [Passage omitted] The Saturday attack points (?up) vividly the difficult security situation in that country. Indeed, for more than 8 years Soviet soldiers helped the Afghan Government to maintain law and order in that war-torn country. Now (?as) the troops began their withdrawal, the Afghan Government would have to assume the burden upon itself. However, even as the Soviet troops are withdrawing, the fratricidal war is likely to continue in the absence of compromise between the various Afghan sections and political groups.

[Announcer] There is now a great deal of speculation as to what will be the future political makeup of the country, and whether the present government can rally the Afghan population behind its program of national reconciliation.

[Second speaker] [Passage omitted] We in the Soviet Union expect the country to remain independent and nonaligned, as it has always been.

[Announcer] How does the Soviet Union view the beginning of its troops withdrawal from Afghanistan?

[Second speaker] There's no question a lot of people will sigh with relief, particularly Soviet mothers whose young soldier-sons served in that country. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] What is the Soviet Union leaving behind in Afghanistan as a legacy?

[Second speaker] Let me make it clear: the Soviet troop withdrawal does not spell a total disruption of its traditional ties with that country. [passage omitted] I think any government would benefit from friendly ties with our country. In the nearly 9 years of Soviet involvement in Afghanistan, social infrastructure had improved and ethnic minorities had got a better deal. [passage omitted]

Rebels Reportedly Attack Soviet Embassy in Kabul

LD1505172488 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1630 GMT 15 May 88

[Text] According to an IRNA report, Afghan Muslim revolutionaries attacked the Soviet Embassy in Kabul on Friday afternoon. As yet there are no figures available concerning the losses or damage caused as a result of the attack. The report adds that Afghan Muslim revolutionaries also attacked the headquarters of the occupation forces in the (Dar al-Aman) District of the city of Kabul at the same time. As a result of the attack, the headquarters was set on fire.

More Rocket Fire Reported in Kabul 14 May

LD1405194388 Moscow TASS in English 1834 GMT 14 May 88

[Text] Kabul May 14 TASS—The implacable opposition committed a second crime today by firing rockets at 5 p.m. at the Chaman-e Baraqi District in the capital. As a result of the explosion of two rockets an old man and two children were killed and several people wounded.

The BAKHTAR news agency reported that one of the terrorists involved in a truck explosion in the centre of Kabul was arrested. He was Shinwar Safdar, from Laghman Province, who belonged to the Gulbuddin Hikmatyar group.

Shevardnadze, Pakistan's Noorani Discuss Pullout

PM1705112188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 May 88 Second Edition p 4

["Exchange of Opinions Held"—TASS report]

[Text] Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and foreign minister of the USSR, received on 16 May at the Foreign Ministry Pakistan's Minister of state for foreign affairs Zain Noorani, who is in Moscow on a working visit.

In a thorough conversation, the sides held a frank exchange of views concerning major global and regional problems, as well as some issues of Soviet-Pakistani relations.

Noorani's attention was drawn to the Soviet Union's persistent efforts to improve the situation in the world, strengthen understanding and cooperation among nations, create a comprehensive system of international security and achieve the earliest political settlement of regional conflicts.

Within this context, the need was stressed for constructive efforts by all Asian states, including Pakistan, in consolidating peace, reinforcing stability and establishing broad inter-state cooperation in Asia.

Special attention was devoted to the Afghan settlement issue. The Soviet side stated that a major and fundamental breakthrough had been achieved thanks to the conclusion of the Geneva accords in putting an end to one of the most painful and protracted regional confrontations.

The future fate of the normalisation of the situation around and within Afghanistan, E.A. Shevardnadze emphasized, would now depend on how consistently, fully, and strictly the parties to the Geneva accords carried out the entire package of their commitments.

As regards the Soviet Union, it is resolved to act in strict compliance with the Geneva accords, to strictly and consistently observe their provisions. But Pakistan, who by signing the accords is under obligation not to allow on its territory the presence of camps or bases, nor to provide refuge in them or in any other way to allow the organization, training, financing, and provision of fighting gear and arms to political and other groups for the purposes of waging subversion against the Government of Afghanistan, must also have its weighty say.

Z. Noorani gave a high evaluation to the contribution of the Soviet Union to the achievement of the Geneva accords and stressed that the success of that undertaking became possible largely thanks to the persistent, constructive and flexible approach adopted by the Soviet leadership.

He said that in Pakistan there are no training camps or bases of mujahidins waging war against Afghanistan, and said that Pakistan would not want its territory to be used for delivering arms intended for carrying out hostile actions against a neighbouring state.

Z. Noorani said he felt complete solidarity with Eduard Shevardnadze's statement that the solution of the internal problems of Afghanistan, including those concerning the formation of the government of that country, is the exclusive prerogative of the Afghan people itself. The Pakistani minister stressed that Islamabad intends to strictly abide by the commitments which it has undertaken under the Geneva accords concerning non-interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.

In the course of the talk, it was noted by both sides that the agreements which have been signed in Geneva, provided, of course, that they are strictly and scrupulously complied with, can become the turning point in the development of Soviet-Pakistani cooperation in the most diverse fields and lead to the elimination of the accretions that have appeared in Soviet-Pakistani relations in recent years.

The two sides expressed the mutual desire to comprehensively promote the early settlement of the Afghan problem so as to ensure durable peace, stability and security in Asia and the whole world.

The talk, in which Pakistan's ambassador to the USSR Shahid Mohammad Amin took part, passed in a businesslike and constructive atmosphere.

Egyptian Foreign Minister Interviewed

LD1605182988 Moscow TASS in English 1648 GMT 16 May 88

[Text] Cairo May 16 TASS—Deputy Prime Minister, Foreign Minister of the Arab Republic of Egypt 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid has noted the progressive character of the development of the Egyptian-Soviet relations in the recent years and reassuring prospects of their further consolidation.

In an interview to representatives of Soviet mass media he has said that the Egyptian people feel profound gratitude to the USSR for the assistance rendered to them in the years after the victory of the 1952 revolution. Inestimable is your country's contribution to the development of Egypt's national industry. The foreign minister said that his forthcoming visit to the USSR and negotiations with Soviet leaders would make it possible to discuss questions of mutual interest to both countries.

We highly appreciate the Soviet leadership's efforts aimed at strengthening peace, building up mutual confidence and developing cooperation between nations, said 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid. The Soviet-American INF Treaty has been received with approval in the Arab Republic of Egypt, and considered here as a major positive breakthrough in the relations between the two great powers. It is obvious that the step has been to the benefit of all the peoples in the world.

The foreign policy of the Arab Republic of Egypt is aimed at safeguarding peace, stability and development, he said. Such a stand meets the interests of the Egyptians, and also their neighbours. Egypt advocates convocation of an international conference on the Middle East with the participation of five U.N. Security Council permanent members. The Soviet Union is bound to play a major role in the process of the Middle East settlement. Noting the USSR's consistent stand on the Palestinian problem, 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid highly appreciated the Soviet Union's invariable support for the interests of the Palestinian people.

Among other countries, members of the Non-Aligned Movement, Egypt supports the Soviet proposals that a zone of peace and stability be established in the Mediterranean area, he said. We see certain difficulties on the way towards realisation of these proposals, he added. Egypt's view of the situation in the south of Africa is the same as that of the USSR.

Algeria, Morocco Restoration of Ties Reported

LD1605201588 Moscow TASS in English 207 GMT 16 May 88

[Text] Algiers May 16 TASS—Algeria and Morocco decided today to restore their diplomatic relations ruptured in 1976 over the conflict involving Western

Sahara. The Algerian APS news agency, in reporting the development, notes that this step will serve the cause of peace in the region and contribute to activating the process of the establishment of a "big Maghreb".

Moscow Muslim Cited on Israeli 'Brutalities'
LD1405065788 Tehran IRNA in English 0640 GMT 14 May 88

[Text] Tehran, May 14, IRNA—Leader of Friday mass prayers of Muslims in Moscow Allameh Rezaaddin [name as received] yesterday deplored Zionists' brutalities with Palestinians.

Rezaaddin who was delivering his sermons to a gathering of Muslims at the weekly Friday mass prayers expressed hope that Palestinians would one day liberate Al-Qods and return to their homeland. His comments on the Zionists regime and the status of Palestinians coincided with the international Al-Qods day annually observed on the last Friday of the fasting month of Ramadan.

Elsewhere in his sermons he criticized the Iraqi Government for deploying chemical weapons against its own people in the Iraqi town Halabja just a few hours after the conquest of the town by Iran's Muslim combatants on March 18 this year.

Rezaaadin also invoked God's punishment of "the perpetrators of the crime."

East Europe

Further Reportage on Gromyko's Romania Visit

Ceausescu Dinner Speech
PM1305151388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 May 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report on "speech by Comrade N. Ceausescu," RCP general secretary and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, at dinner given for A.A. Gromyko, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, in Bucharest on 11 May 1988, under general heading "In a Friendly Atmosphere"]

[Text] Dear Comrade Andrey Gromyko!

Dear Comrade Lidiya Gromyko!

Dear Comrades!

It gives me great pleasure to convey to you, Comrade Gromyko and Comrade Lidiya Gromyko, and to the other comrades accompanying you, cordial greetings and to most warmly wish you "welcome to Romanian soil."

Your visit is a new and important manifestation of the friendship and cooperation between the RCP and the CPSU, between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Soviet Union, and between the Romanian and Soviet peoples, a reflection of the common desire to raise these relations, which have long and lasting traditions, to an even higher level.

Romanian-Soviet relations are deeply rooted in the historical past. At certain times in their history our peoples struggled together for the same ideals of freedom and independence. It was at the very origins of the workers movement in our countries that Romanian and Russian revolutionaries established close links and collaborated with and helped each other in the struggle to eliminate exploitation and oppression, for freedom and a better life. The Romanian revolutionaries' spirit of combat solidarity found expression in the broad support given in Romania to the Russian seamen of the battleship "Potemkin" during the 1905-1907 revolution, and in particular in the armed participation by brigades of Romanian revolutionaries in the struggle for the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and in defense of the young Soviet state created by Lenin. The friendship and solidarity between our parties and peoples were firmly cemented by the blood of Romanian and Soviet servicemen who, at the closing stage of World War II, fought shoulder to shoulder and suffered heavy losses in the struggle to rout Hitler's war machine and rid mankind of fascism, the most dangerous enemy of the peoples.

Based on these lasting traditions of friendship and solidarity, Romanian-Soviet relations have developed strongly over the years of socialist building. As their foundation we have firmly laid the principles of full equality, national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs and mutual advantage, the noble ideals of socialism, and fraternal cooperation in the struggle for victory by the new system in our countries.

Our party and our people highly value Romanian-Soviet relations and are fully resolved to do everything to ensure that these relations are more and more firmly established as a model of relations between neighboring and friendly socialist countries actively cooperating and collaborating in struggle and in labor for the sake of successfully building the new society in our countries, the cause of socialism, and the triumph of peace throughout the world.

Noting with gratification the positive development of relations, I would like to emphasize in this context the great importance of the talks and the accords agreed at top level on the further strengthening of Romanian-Soviet friendship and cooperation. Particular importance in this regard attaches to my meetings with Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, each one of which has marked a most important stage in the development of bilateral relations. The Long-Term Program for the Development of Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation Between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the USSR

Through the Year 2000 and other agreements provide a broad framework for the development of Romanian-Soviet relations in the most diverse spheres and for strengthening the fraternal friendship and cooperation between our countries, parties, and peoples.

We are convinced that the meetings and talks we have had in the last few days will open up new prospects for the strengthening of Romanian-Soviet relations and the intensification of cooperation in the political, economic, scientific, technical, cultural and other spheres of mutual interest.

This visit gives you an opportunity to see for yourself the latest labor achievements of the Romanian people, who are making every effort to implement the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and the RCP National Conference aimed at Romania's transition by the end of this decade to a new stage of development—the stage of an averagely developed socialist country. For the current 5-year plan period, we have set ourselves important tasks in the intensive development of industry, agriculture, science, education, and culture and the achievement of a new quality of labor and life for the whole people. We are devoting particular attention to the further improvement of the forms of managing and planning economic activity, placing special emphasis on the strengthening and development of socialist, state, and cooperative ownership, and showing special concern for the firm application of the new economic mechanism, self-management, and financial and economic independence of enterprises. Over the last 20 years, proceeding from the stipulations and tasks set by the ninth party congress, we have created and developed a broad system of democratic organs, a system which we are constantly improving and which ensures broad and direct participation by the whole people in the leadership of all sectors of economic and social life and the whole of society. We firmly proceed from the principle that socialism is built by the people and for the people. We are incessantly strengthening the party's role in the management of all work on socialist building in our country.

We constantly bear in mind that socialism is built in different conditions in each country, and that the consistent creative application of the general principles and laws of socialism in the specific conditions of each country is essential for the victory of the new system.

Communists and our entire people highly appraise the historic accomplishments of the peoples of the Soviet Union in the more than 70 years since the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and their major achievements in the building of socialism and the development of the material and technical base of society—in industry, agriculture, science, and technology—in all spheres of activity. We follow the efforts by the Soviet Union aimed at implementing the 27th CPSU Congress decisions on the development and improvement of all aspects of socioeconomic life, the expansion of socialist democracy, and the elevation to a higher level of all activity aimed at building the new society. As neighbors and friends, dear comrades, we wish you with all our hearts more and more major successes along the path of building socialism and communism in the Soviet Union!

We believe the achievements of Romania and the Soviet Union, and of all countries which are building socialism, and the efforts by our countries aimed at the broad utilization of the opportunities offered by the new social order make a most important contribution to the growth of socialism's might, of its prestige and influence, and the consolidation of the forces of progress and peace throughout the world.

There is no doubt that the building of the new society has demanded and continues to demand major efforts by every people, that quite a few difficulties still have to be overcome and many shortcomings still have to be eliminated in the advance along the path of socialism, but life itself and the experience accumulated so far vividly prove that socialism, and socialism alone, can ensure the economic and social development of every people and a free, dignified, and happy life.

Esteemed comrades!

The international situation still remains quite serious and complex. Intense political, economic, and military contradictions are persisting and developing as a consequence of the continuing arms race, and the nuclear arms race in particular, the improvement and development [razvitiye] of new nuclear weapons, the existence of conflicts and seats of tension in different parts of the world, and the growing gap between rich and poor countries.

In view of these realities, all peoples must augment their efforts to halt this dangerous course of events and to resolutely assert a policy of peace, disarmament, and broad international cooperation.

Given the vast quantity of nuclear weapons capable of destroying life on the planet several times over, it is necessary to do everything to secure the supreme right of the people—the right to peace, life, and free and dignified existence!

The signing of the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles between the Soviet Union and the United States is undoubtedly an event of special importance and proof that the solution of problems can be achieved via talks.

However, bearing in mind that there are still vast stocks of nuclear weapons capable of destroying all of mankind several times over and that the NATO countries have even discussed the question of the modernization and development [razvitiye] of shorter-range missiles, it is necessary to strengthen the efforts of all countries and peoples for the achievement of new accords and for actions to implement a comprehensive disarmament

program which would lead to the phased elimination of nuclear weapons, an end to nuclear tests and the militarization of space, and the elimination of the danger of a devastating nuclear war.

Mankind's future cannot be secured by new arms; this can be done only via the final elimination of all nuclear and chemical arsenals and substantial reduction of conventional arms, forces, and military budgets, via the pursuit of a realistic policy of cooperation and mutual understanding between all states.

Romania consistently pursues the a successful conclusion of the all-European meeting in Vienna, the broad and unhindered development of economic, scientific, technical, and other cooperation between the continent's countries, and the creation of a united Europe with a diversity of social orders—a Europe of peace, mutual understanding, and cooperation.

Our country resolutely advocates the transformation of the Balkans into a zone of peace and mutual understanding, a zone without nuclear and chemical weapons and without foreign troops and military bases, and the convening of a summit conference at the level of regional heads of state and government. At the same time, we support the creation of zones without nuclear and chemical weapons in Northern and Central Europe and elsewhere in the world.

In the spirit of its whole policy of peace and cooperation, Romania consistently advocates and pursues the elimination of force and the threat of force in relations between states and the solution of all disputed problems in different parts of the world—the Near East, Central America, Asia, and Africa- exclusively by peaceful means via talks.

Taking into account the deteriorating world economic situation which affects virtually all states in the world, and the developing countries in particular, our country advocates the convening of an international conference within the UN framework, to be attended on an equal basis by both developing and developed states, to find mutually acceptable solutions with a view to a global solution of the questions of underdevelopment, including the problems of the foreign debt of developing countries and the establishment of a new world economic order.

Life proves that a just and lasting solution of complex problems in international life can be ensured only through active and equal participation by all states regardless of their size or social system. It is in this spirit that we advocate the enhancement of the United Nations' role in the democratic solution of problems on which the ensuring of peace and progress for all peoples depends.

N. Ceausescu expressed confidence that the visit by the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium will make a new and important contribution to the development of the relations of friendship and cooperation between the two parties, countries, and peoples. He proposed a toast to the further strengthening of friendship and cooperation between the RCP and the CPSU, Romania and the Soviet Union, and our peoples and countries, and to peace and cooperation throughout the world.

Gromyko Addresses Parliament

LD1405134488 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1510 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] Bucharest, 13 May (TASS)—A meeting took place today in the building of the Grand National Assembly of the Romanian Socialist Republic Between A.A. Gromyko, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, and deputies of the supreme legislative body of the Romanian Socialist Republic. Together with the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman were persons accompanying him on his trip to Romania, many of whom are deputies to the supreme legislative body of the USSR.

On behalf of the Romanian deputies the distinguished Soviet guest was welcomed by Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly. He introduced Romanian parliamentary figures, among whom were the deputy chairmen of the Grand National Assembly and also the leaders of the standing commissions.

In the course of a friendly conversation A.A. Gromyko familiarized himself with the work of the Grand Assembly and described the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet on consistently implementing the course of restructuring worked out by the CPSU and approved by the Soviet People. This course is aimed at a qualitative renewal of all aspects of the life of Soviet society. Both in the USSR Supreme Soviet and in the local soviets of people's deputies from top to bottom, A.A. Gromyko stressed, work on implementing profound changes has got underway.

The party regards the all-round democratization of sociopolitical life as the central task of restructuring, and a key condition of the renewal of socialism. The issue of the sharp increase in the role of soviets as the core of the political system and of ensuring the sovereignty of soviets has been raised most acutely at plenums of the CPSU Central Committee in recent years.

It is the soviets which, by basing themselves directly on the masses, are called on to participate actively in all transformations and to act as authoritative and energetic bodies of popular self-government. In the run-up to the 19th all-union party conference an analysis is being

made of the work of soviets at all levels and the most characteristics failings in their activities are being identified. The results of this work will be reported at the all-union party conference.

The process of restructuring in the Soviet Union is giving rise to increased interest abroad, especially in the fraternal socialist countries. We place a high value on the support and understanding which our friends are showing for the revolutionary transformations in the Soviet Union.

Using specific examples from the last few years A.A. Gromyko showed what important issues of state affairs are discussed by the USSR Supreme Soviet and what laws it adopts, and spoke in detail about the way in which the USSR Supreme Soviet presidium operates.

The conversation also covered bilateral relations. A.A. Gromyko and N. Giosan and the Romanian and Soviet deputies of the supreme bodies of state power who took part in the conversation were united in the view that Soviet-Romanian links are typified by their broad range at all levels. This applies to party, state and public organizations, as well as specifically to business cooperation between ministries and departments. Contacts between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania form a constitutent link in this broad spectrum.

Both sides expressed a readiness to expand links and conduct an exchange of experience between standing commissions and representatives of the supreme bodies of power.

After the conversation A.A. Gromyko was shown various parts of the old Grand National Assembly building, including the session hall in which the supreme legislative body of the Socialist Republic of Romania sits. After this tour he signed the book of guests of honor of the Romanian parliament.

Ceausescu Meeting Reviewed

PM1605134588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 May 88 Second Edition pp 1,4

[TASS reports under the general heading: "Strengthening the Bonds of Friendship"]

[Text] Bucharest, 13 May—A third meeting took place here yesterday between A.A. Gromyko, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, and N. Ceausescu, RCP general secretary and Romanian president, as part of the continuing official friendly visit to Romania by A.A. Gromyko. The two sides had a detailed discussion on the state and prospects of friendly Soviet-Romanian relations. They stated that progressive development and constant, active contacts at all levels are characteristic of the multifaceted ties between the fraternal countries—the Soviet Union and Romania.

They expressed the common opinion that the enhanced efficiency of bilateral Soviet-Romanian cooperation in the political, economic, cultural, and other spheres is based on the systematic implementation of the accords reached during the meetings between M.S. Gorbachev and N. Ceausescu and, in particular, during the visit to Romania by the CPSU Central Committee general secretary in May last year.

The interlocutors were of the opinion that new, progressive forms of mutually advantageous bilateral economic cooperation must be more boldly developed. They include production cooperation and specialization, direct links between associations, and the formation of joint enterprises on Soviet and Romanian territory in line with the two countries' legislation and bilateral international agreements.

Both sides voiced the deep belief that all these forms will help to raise cooperation to a higher level in the spirit of the requirements of the present stage of development reached by the two countries.

A.A. Gromyko and N. Ceausescu gave a positive appraisal of present-day political relations between the USSR and Romania and their joint common approach to international problems and to active cooperation with other socialist states within the framework of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA.

The two sides spoke in favor of further improving bilateral ties in the most diverse areas, including science, culture, education, health care, sport, and tourism. They also advocated galvanizing contacts and communication between the two countries' labor collectives.

A.A. Gromyko and N. Ceausescu expressed the firm determination of the Soviet and Romanian peoples to strengthen the bonds of friendship and do everything possible to ensure that cooperation becomes broader and more dynamic and enriched with new content. The talks were continued on the same day and agreements were signed in culture and sport.

A.I. Kamshalov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Cinematography, and K. Georgescu, general director of the "Romaniafilm" Association, signed a plan of cooperation for the period 1988-1990, which envisages holding movie days and movie retrospectives and organizing movie festivals and joint movie production.

An agreement was signed on cooperation in the field of physical culture and sports. It covers the period through 2000 and is aimed at developing and broadening cooperation in the sphere of mass physical culture, top-level sport, sports science and medicine, and also collaboration in the international arena and in the Olympic movement. It was signed by M.V. Gramov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Physical Culture and

Sports, and G. Gomoiu, chairman of the National Council for Physical Education and Sport and chairman of the Romanian National Olympic Committee.

A plan for cooperation between the USSR Writers Union and the Romanian Writers Union for 1988 was signed by V.V. Karpov, first secretary of the USSR Writers Union Board, and D.P. Popescu, chairman of the Romanian Writers Union.

A meeting took place today in the building of the Romanian Grand National Assembly between A.A. Gromyko and deputies of Romania's supreme legislative body. Present with the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium were the people accompanying him on his visit to Romania, many of whom are deputies of the USSR's supreme legislative body.

Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, welcomed the high-ranking Soviet guest on behalf of Romanian deputies. He introduced Romanian parliamentarians, including the deputy chairmen of the Grand National Assembly and the heads of its standing commissions.

During the friendly conversation A.A. Gromyko was acquainted with the activity of the Grand National Assembly and talked about the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet to consistently implement the restructuring course aimed at effecting the qualitative renewal of all aspects of Soviet society's life evolved by the CPSU and approved by the Soviet people. Work to make far-reaching changes has developed in the USSR Supreme Soviet and in local soviets from the highest to the lowest, A.A. Gromyko emphasized.

The party regards the all-around democratization of sociopolitical life as the central task of restructuring and a decisive condition of socialism's renewal. The question of greatly enhancing the role played by soviets, as the pivot of the political system, and guaranteeing soviet sovereignty has been seriously raised at CPSU Central Committee plenums in recent years.

It is the soviets, which rely directly on the masses, that are expected to actively participate in all transformations and act as authoritative, capable organs of popular self-government. The work of soviets at all levels is being studied and the most typical shortcomings in their work brought to light before the 19th all-union party conference. The results of this work will be discussed at the all-union party conference.

The restructuring process in the Soviet Union is arousing heightened interest outside the country, particularly in fraternal socialist countries. We highly value the support and understanding with which our friends regard the revolutionary transformations being made in the Soviet Union.

Citing specific examples from recent years, A.A. Gromyko demonstrated what important issues of state life are discussed by the USSR Supreme Soviet and what laws it adopts, and gave a detailed account of the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Bilateral relations were also discussed during the conversation. A.A. Gromyko and N. Giosan, and the Romanian and Soviet deputies of the supreme organs of state power taking part in the conversation were unanimous that Soviet-Romanian ties are characterized by their broad scope at all levels. This applies to party, state, and social organizations and also specifically to businesslike collaboration between ministries and departments. Contacts between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Romanian Grand National Assembly are an integral link in this broad range of relations.

The two sides expressed willingness to expand ties and exchange experience between the standing commissions and representatives of the supreme organs of power.

After the conversation A.A. Gromyko was shown various parts of the old Grand National Assembly building, including the session hall, where Romania's supreme legislative organ works. After his tour he signed the Book of Guests of Honor to the Romanian Parliament.

The Bucharest Machine Tool Plant is rightly considered one of Romania's biggest machine-building enterprises. It produces specialized heavy machine tools, units, production lines, and components for nuclear power plants—its products are renowned in many countries. A number of Soviet ministries and associations are permanent partners of the enterprise.

A.A. Gromyko spent several hours today in the plant's laboratories and shops. The bouquets of red carnations presented to the guest and the banners of welcome hung at the enterprise gates are a sincere expression of this 5,000-strong collective's friendly feelings toward the Soviet Union.

N. Vaidescu, Romanian minister of the electrical equipment industry, who provided the explanations during the tour of the enterprise, told the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium about the history and current work of one of the republic's machine-building flagships. In recent years the enterprise has embarked on producing the latest generation of robot-operated machine tools, which will account for more than half of the plant's output by 1990. It is currently implementing an extensive program to develop and assimilate high-precision coordinated drilling and grinding tools with luminous display and digital control. It exported vertical boring and turning lathes to the Soviet Union last year and is supplying it with truck wheel assembly lines this year. Trade between the enterprise and our country has reached more than R80 million a year. New forms of

cooperation are being introduced. Romanian specialists assemble a number of machine tools to meet Soviet specifications and direct links are being established with Soviet enterprises.

The collective's working and social conditions were discussed at a meeting between A.A. Gromyko and the enterprise's worker council. K. Dinike [name as published], general director of the plant, and M. Niculescu, party committee secretary and chairman of the worker council, noted that all the efforts of the council, which includes representatives of the administration, engineering and technical personnel, and workers, are primarily geared to increasing labor productivity, improving organization, and modernizing production. At the same time, the council also focuses its attention on raising the working people's standard of living. One important problem in particular—providing every machine tool producer's family with an individual apartment—is being systematically resolved.

Addressing the members of the council, A.A. Gromyko noted that this Romanian enterprise's products are well known in the Soviet Union. There are still a great many untapped reserves, however, in Soviet-Romanian trade and scientific and technical cooperation.

A.A. Gromyko made the following entry in the enterprise's Guests of Honor Book:

"It is with great interest that I have become acquainted with your plant and learned of the labor collective's successes, concerns, and plans for the future. The working people of this Bucharest enterprise have every reason to be proud of their products, which have won renown outside Romania, including in the Soviet Union. It is a convincing demonstration of Romanian industrial achievement in the years of socialist building.

"It is pleasant to note that Communists and all working people at this Bucharest enterprise are focusing their efforts on further improving the technical standard and quality of their products and creating equipment on a par with the best world models.

"The working class in the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries is setting itself the very same task. Combining our efforts in this important work and developing collaboration ties in science and production will allow us to make more rapid, sure progress toward our planned goals.

"I wholeheartedly wish you continued success in implementing the 13th RCP Congress decisions and fulfilling your hopes and plans, as well as great happiness, health, and prosperity."

A.A. Gromyko was accompanied by C. Olteanu, RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee member and Bucharest RCP Municipal Committee first secretary, and I. Stoian, RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee candidate member and RCP Central Committee secretary.

Concludes Ceausescu Talks

PM1605142588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 May 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Talks End"]

[Text] Bucharest, 14 May—The final meeting between A.A. Gromyko and Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of Romania, has been held here in the Romanian State Council building.

Participating in the talks were, on the Soviet side, G.G. Vedernikov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; A.I. Kamshalov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Cinematography; M.V. Gramov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Sport; Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister; A.N. Ivoditov, USSR deputy minister of ferrous metallurgy; V.V. Karpov, first secretary of the USSR Writers' Union Board; V.V. Zhurkin, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Europe Institute, and Ye.M. Tyazhelnikov, USSR ambassador to Romania; and, on the Romanian side, Ion Stoian, Political Executive Committee candidate member and RCP Central Committee secretary; Constantin Radu, Romanina deputy prime minister; Aurel Duma, minister state secretary of foreign affairs; Gheorghe Veliu, Romanian deputy minister of the metallurgical industry; Mihai Dulea, deputy chairman of the Romanian Socialist Culture and Education Council; Nicolae Mihalache, assistant to the Romanian president, and Ion Bucur, Romanian ambassador to the USSR.

There was a discussion of a wide range of international problems, special attention being paid to the strengthening of peace, the creation of a system of international security, curbing of the arms race, and consolidation of positive trends in the international policy sphere.

Both sides confirmed their desire to strengthen collaboration in international affairs and increase joint efforts to eliminate the nuclear threat and create an all-embracing system of international security.

A.A. Gromyko and N. Ceausescu pointed out that the peace-loving policy of the Warsaw Pact states and their initiatives and proposals geared to progress toward a nuclear-free, nonviolent world, the creation of a climate of trust, and buildup of the constructive dialogue between states demonstrate the socialist community countries' appreciation of their responsibility for the future of mankind. All this is further convincing proof that socialism and peace are indivisible.

The interlocutors stated that they regard making the disarmament process forward-moving and continuous as a most important present-day task. It is a matter of the entry into force of the treaty on intermediate-range and

shorter-range missiles, the conclusion of a treaty on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive armaments while strictly observing the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972, and nonwithdrawal from it for an agreed period.

It also means the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapon tests, the finalizaion of a convention banning chemical weapons, and the earliest agreement on a mandate for talks on reducing armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe.

The multifaceted efforts to strengthen the atmosphere of trust and cooperation in the Balkans are a substantial contribution to building an "all-European home." The Soviet side confirmed its support for the proposals by Romania and Bulgaria on the creation of a zone free from nuclear and chemical weapons in that region of the zone.

The interlocutors also discussed problems associated with regional conflicts in various continents. In particular this applies to the Near East, the Iran-Iraq war, and the situation in the Persian Gulf zone, Southern Africa, Central America, and the Caribbean basin.

A.A. Gromyko and N. Ceausescu advocated the stepping up of efforts to tackle the acute international problems of the developing countries. They stressed that underdevelopment can really only be overcome by creating a new international economic order and ensuring economic security for every state within the framework of an all-embracing system of international security. The switching of part of the money that would become available as a result of disarmament to developing countries' needs would be a substantial contribution to attaining this goal.

The talks in Bucharest took place in a warm, friendly atmosphere.

A.A. Gromyko, CPSU Central Committee member and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, left Bucharest for Moscow today.

N. Ceausescu and his wife wished A.A. Gromyko and his wife farewell at the aircraft ramp.

M. Manescu, RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee member and Romanian State Council vice president, and other Romanian party and state figures, representatives of the city's working people, and Soviet Ambassador to Romania Ye.M. Tyazhelnikov were also at the airport to see A.A. Gromyko off.

The national flags of the Soviet Union and Romania were flying at the airport. A band played the two countries' anthems. There was a 21-gun salute.

A.A. Gromyko and N. Ceausescu inspected the Romanian Armed Forces honor guard.

At the airport in Moscow A.A. Gromyko and those accompanying him were greeted by Ye.K. Ligachev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary; P.N. Demichev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and other officials.

The welcoming party included Romanian charge d'affaires in the USSR N. Stanea.

'Warm, Friendly' Talks

LD1305210288 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1943 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] Bucharest, 13 May (TASS)—The final meeting took place here today between A.A. Gromyko, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, and Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP general secretary and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

A broad range of international problems was discussed. Particular attention was paid to strengthening peace, the creation of a system of international security, curbing the arms race, and consolidating positive tendencies in international politics.

The two sides confirmed their desire to strengthen cooperation in international affairs and to augment joint efforts aimed at eliminating the nuclear threat, at disarmament, and at creating an all-embracing system of international security.

A.A. Gromyko and N. Ceausescu pointed to the fact that the peace-loving policy of the Warsaw Pact states and their initiatives and proposals, aimed at progress towards a non-nuclear world, demonstrate that the countries of the socialist community understand their responsibility for the destiny of humanity. All this once again proves convincingly that socialism and peace are indivisible.

The interlocutors stressed the historic significance of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, which has opened the way toward real nuclear disarmament, and declared that they believe it to be a most important task today to ensure that the process of disarmament that has begun continues to advance and becomes permanent.

The sides called for the deepening and development of European dialogue and for the very rapid conclusion of the Vienna meeting with the kind of accords that could develop the process of disarmament on the European continent on the basif of the principles and terms of the Helsinki Final Act.

The multilateral efforts aimed at strengthening the atmosphere of trust and cooperation in the Balkans is a significant contribution to the building of a "common

European home". The Soviet side confirmed its support for the proposals by Romania and Bulgaria on the setting up in this region of a zone free from nuclear and chemical weapons.

The talks held in Bucharest passed off in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Farewell Ceremony

LD1405200288 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1055 GMT 14 May 88

[Text] Bucharest, 14 May (TASS)—Today A.A. Gromyko, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, left Bucharest for Moscow. He was here on an official friendly visit at the invitation of N. Ceaucescu, Romanian Communist Party general secretary, president of the Romanian Socialist Republic.

The state flags of the two countries and banners of greetings were hung out along the route followed by the cortege of cars accompanied by an honors escort of motorcycles from the residence to the airport.

N. Ceaucescu and his wife wished farewell to A.A. Gromyko and his wife at the aircraft steps.

Members of the Romanian and Soviet Pioneers handed bouquets of red carnations to the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and those accompanying him.

M. Manescu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee, deputy chairman of Romania's State Council, other Romanian party and state officials, representatives of the city's workers and Ye.M. Tyazhelnikov, USSR ambassador in Romania, also came to see off A.A. Gromyko.

The state flags of the USSR and Romania were raised over the airfield. A band played the national anthems of the two countries. There was a 21-gun salute.

A.A. Gromyko and N. Ceaucescu inspected the ranks of Romanian servicemen forming the guard of honor of the Romanian Socialist Republic Armed Forces.

Arrives in Moscow

LD1405122688 Moscow TASS in English 1156 GMT 14 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 14 TASS—Andrey Gromyko, member of the political bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, has returned in Moscow from Bucharest today. He was on an official friendly visit in the Socialist Republic of Romania at the invitation of Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Yazov Activities in GDR Highlighted

Addresses Military Meeting

AU1605203788 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 May 88 pp 3, 4

[Speech by Army General Dimitriy Yazov, USSR defense minister and CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member, at a meeting of friendship comradeship-in-arms in the Rudolf Renner regime of the Heinz Hoffmann division in Neubrandenburg Bezirk on 11 May: "The Friendship Among Our Soldiers Is Firm and Indestructible"]

[Text] Dear Comrades:

Please allow me to convey cordial greetings to you on behalf of the Soviet military delegation that is in your country at the invitation of the GDR party and state leadership and of Comrade Army General Heinz Kessler, GDR minister of national defense.

It is a great pleasure for me to convey to you, and through your person to all members of the fraternally allied National People's Army, militant greetings from the Soviet Armed Forces and their wishes for success in service and in fulfilling their patriotic and internationalist duty.

The warmth and cordiality with which the leadership and all members of your regiment welcomed the Soviet military delegation, arouse the same deep feelings in our hearts.

Many thanks for your warmth and hospitality!

SED Leads the GDR Purposefully on the Course of Socialism and Peace [subhead]

During such meetings as today's, in direct and living contact, the firmness of the friendly relations between our peoples and armies is particularly tangible.

Your regiment bears the name of an outstanding son of the German people, Rudolf Renner. He fought self-sacrificingly for the freedom and happiness of the German working people, for your country's present and its bright future. You are doing your service in the division that bears the name of the true communist and internationalist Heinz Hoffmann. He played and outstanding part in the coming into being and development of the GDR National People's Army and the consolidation of our community. You are protecting the socialist achievements of the working people of the GDR, the first worker-peasant state in the history of the German people.

Today, in the homeland of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, their theory of scientific socialism is being successfully put into practice. Today the GDR is a country with a modern industry and agriculture, with an advanced science and culture, and with a high living standard of the people.

The work of the GDR people is being led by its proven vanguard, the SED.

True to the revolutionary traditions of Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, and Ernst Thaelmann, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and internationalism, it leads the republic purposefully on the course of socialism and peace.

The working people of the GDR are building a new society and are working to implement the decisions of the 11th SED Congress, in close alliance with the peoples of the other countries of the socialist community. Never before in history has there been such an alliance. It is based on equality, comradely assistance, and mutual respect, and is the embodiment of true fraternity of the peoples.

Our time is characterized by an increased cohesion among the fraternal countries, by expanded and renewed forms of cooperation in all spheres, and by the increasingly profound intertwining of national and international interests. To a broad extent and on a reciprocal basis, the experiences of the fraternal countries in solving the problems of socialist construction are being used and cooperation is deepening in organizing the defense of socialism. All this contributes to strengthening the efficiency of every individual fraternal country and to accelerating our joint advancement.

As in the GDR, great construction work is in progress in the Soviet Union today.

The Soviet people are persistently implementing the course of the 27th CPSU Congress and are striving to prepare worthily for the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

The enhancement of democratization within society, the development of openness, and the initiatives and activities of the Soviet people also contribute to speeding up our country's socioeconomic development. Important measures designed to increase the economic efficiency on the basis of scientific-technological progress are being persistently implemented. Everything is being done to utilize the vast possibilities of socialism as perfectly as possible for the well-being of the people, for progress and peace.

There is no doubt that the 3 years of restructuring, of democratization and revolutionary renewal in all spheres of life of the Soviet society have increased the Soviet Union's international standing. At the same time the influence of our entire socialist community of states has increased in the international arena.

Constructive Approach to Urgent Issues of Mankind [subhead]

Throughout the world the understanding is deepening that socialism and peace belong indivisibly together. All this is taking place despite attempts by imperialist reactionary circles to preserve the stereotype phrases of the "cold war" in international politics and to intimidate the Western public through the "hostile image" created by bourgeois propaganda, and the alleged threat that emanates from the USSR and the Warsaw Pact.

But as is well known, lies have short wings. And they become even shorter through the sincerity of our activities in the international arena, through our constructive, balanced, and responsible approach to the tasks that are of primary importance for the whole of mankind.

Primarily it is a task to prevent war and preserve peace.

The Soviet Union, the GDR, our fraternal parties led by Erich Honecker and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev are fighting actively to solve this task. Our joint actions are directed toward safeguarding a lasting peace, the creation of a common European house, a house that is founded on the respect for the social decision of the peoples and the unshakability of the existing political realities.

In the current phase of development, the new political thinking that was proclaimed by our party has become a strong instrument in safeguarding and strengthening peace. Its main message is that a nuclear war, which would immediately extinguish all life, cannot be used to solve political conflicts. And at the current stage of military development also a conventional war between the superpowers can be compared with a nuclear war regarding the fatal consequences.

Today Security Means Equal Security for All States [subhead]

From this results the objective and imperative necessity to renounce war and violence in thinking and acting in world politics. The realities in the nuclear-space age are such that security can only exist in the same measure and for all states together. Security cannot be guaranteed by "deterrence" to which many politicians and strategists in the West are very attached. Security can also not be achieved by the arms race to which the aggressive circles of imperialism want to extend into space.

The Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist states are countering the attempts of the reaction with a firm, constructive, and coordinated line of detente.

This also found precise expression in the military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact member states, which has an expressly defensive nature. It is remarkable that this doctrine was passed a year ago at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in Berlin, in the city where World War II ended and from which now the call by the countries of the socialist community of states for practical actions for the prevention of war is sounded.

Warsaw Pact Military Doctrine: Prevention of War [subhead]

A visible example of how, with the presence of political will, even the most complicated issues can be solved is the signing of the Soviet- U.S. treaty on the withdrawal of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles. As you know, we have removed our shorter-range missiles from your republic and the CSSR ahead of schedule, which were intended for scrapping in accordance with the treaty. This is an important practical step along the path of strengthening confidence and security in Europe. The agreement proposed by the fraternal socialist states between the Organizations of the Warsaw Pact and NATO on a radical reduction of forces and arms in Europe—from the Atlantic to the Urals—would serve the same end.

In accordance with the Geneva agreement on Afghanistan, in a few days the Soviet Union will start the withdrawal of its contingent of troops from this friendly country. This is a tangible confirmation of the possibility of political settlements of regional conflicts which today render the situation explosive in various areas of the globe.

The advancement of the process of disarmament, of the process of the creation of a world without nuclear weapons did not, however, take place without difficulties. The situation in Europe and the world as a whole continues to be complicated and contradictory. The United States and some of its NATO partners are continuing by their behavior in the world arena the dangerous course of the policy of strength. The reactionary circles in the West basically reject the principle of the balance of interests of all sides and strive for superiority over the Warsaw Pact. Currently NATO staffs are making plans to "compensate" for the Pershing-2 and land-based cruise missiles, which are to be scrapped under the INF Treaty, by an arms-buildup in other spheres as well as by modernizing nuclear arsenals.

All this creates the need for us to constantly guarantee high combat readiness of the fraternal armies and to strengthen the defense capability of the socialist community of states. It must be of such a level that no one can surprise us. From this results the need for every officer and soldier to persistently perfect his military skills and to strengthen organization and discipline.

The formation and training of the socialist countries' Armed Forces and their activities are to be carried out in strict accordance with the principles of the Warsaw Pact military doctrine. It reflects the joint military-political goals aimed at defense and the common features of the national military doctrines of the individual Warsaw Pact member states, and is fully designed to prevent war.

The military alliance of the armies of the Warsaw Pact states is firm and indestructible. The Soviet Armed Forces and the GDR National People's Army represent important parts of the alliance. From year to year our relations and contacts become deeper, broader, and more fruitful. They embrace all areas of the life and activity of the allied armies, from technical equipment to political education work. Joint exercises and maneuvers play an important role in perfecting cooperation. Your regiment has been active within the division in a series of them, including the comradeship-in-arms maneuvers.

We learn together, live together, and strengthen the defense of our community together. In practice, this is what we jointly and proudly call "comradeship-in-arms." It is our duty, the duty of patriots and internationalists, to protect and consolidate this comradeship-in-arms. We are pleased about the comradely relations that link the members of the GDR National People's Army and the Group of Soviet Forces in the GDR. Side by side they ensure the protection of the socialist community of states in this important phase. The internationalist friendship among soldiers makes this bulwark insuperable.

Reliably and Jointly We Protect the Socialist Community of States [subhead]

This has again been confirmed during our stay with your regiment. We have no doubt that you, as well as all members of the GDR National People's Army, together with the other fraternal armies, will continue to do everything possible to reliably protect the revolutionary achievements and the peaceful work of the people of the GDR, as well as the security of the entire community of socialist states.

Dear comrades, please allow me to thank you once more for the hospitality and to wish you the best of health, happiness, and new successes in military activity, in faithful service for your marvelous country, for the cause of socialism and peace!

Comrades, as a reminder of the visit by the Soviet military delegation to the GDR, on behalf of the members of the Soviet Armed Forces, I would like to present to the members of the GDR National People's Army the sculpture of the meritorious RSFSR artist Gregoriy Nikolayevich Postnikov entitled "The Path to the Cosmos is Cleared."

Visits Air Regiment

LD1305085188 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1709 GMT 12 May 88

[Text] [First TASS passage not received] Yazov and the officials accompanying him today visited the Fritz Schmenkel fighter regiment. Army General Kessler accompanied the Soviet military delegation. The Soviet guests acquainted themselves with the training and materiel of the regiment, the daily life of the personnel, and were present at flight demonstrations.

The same day a dinner was given in the USSR Embassy to the GDR to mark Soviet Military delegation's stay in the republic. Present were E. Honecker, H. Kessler, E. Krenz; Army General E. Mielke, member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee and minister of state security; and other officials.

Holds Final Talks

LD1305191188 Moscow TASS in English 1515 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] Berlin, 13 May (TASS)—Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, who is in the GDR on an official friendly visit, today visited the "German Dunker" anti-aircraft missile brigade of the GDR National People's Army. The guests conversed with the soldiers and familiarized themselves with their work and way of life.

A final meeting took place between Army General D.T. Yazov and H. Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and GDR Minister of National Defense, and members of the collegium of the GDR Ministry of National Defense.

On the same day the USSR Minister of Defense left Berlin. At the airport he was seen off by Army General H. Kessler, GDR deputy ministers of national defense, and other officials.

Among the see-off party was Army General B.V. Snetkov, commander-in-chief of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany.

Departs GDR

LD1305161188 Moscow TASS in English 1503 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] Berlin May 5 TASS—Army General Dmitriy Yazov, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Minister of Defense of the USSR, who stayed in the GDR on an official friendly visit, left Berlin today.

At the airport he was seen off by Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and minister of National Defense of the GDR, and other officials.

Demichev Attends Return

LD1305222588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 13 May 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Army General Yazov, USSR defense minister, who has been in the GDR on an official friendly visit, returned from Berlin to Moscow today. At the airport he was met by Comrade Demichev and other officials.

Friendship Delegation Leaves for GDR

LD1305200788 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0820 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] Moscow, 13 May (TASS)—A delegation of the Union of Soviet Friendship Societies and the Soviet Society of Friendship with the GDR, headed by Avgust Voss, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet and chairman of the Central Board of the Soviet Society of Friendship with the GDR, today left Moscow for Berlin to take part in the work of the 13th congress of the German-Soviet Friendship Society.

Presidium Congratulates SFRY's Dizdarevic

LD1605232588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 16 May 88

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has sent a message to Raif Dizdarevic congratulating him on his election as president of the SFRY Presidency. The message expresses the conviction that the traditional friendly relations of comprehensive cooperation between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, which are based upon jointly composed principles, will expand, strengthen, and advance dynamically to new heights in the interests of our countries and the cause of peace and socialism.

Nikonov Continues Visit, Talks With Korosec

LD1605183288 Moscow TASS in English 1807 GMT 16 May 88

[Text] Belgrade May 16 TASS—Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU CC Viktor Nikonov, who is here on a working visit, met today with Stefan Korosec, member of the presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. During the conversation they gave a high evaluation to the cooperation between the CPSU and the LCY, the USSR and the SFRY based on the principles and agreements laid down in the Soviet-Yugoslav documents. The sides stressed that the official friendly visit of the general secretary Mikhail Gorbachev to Yugoslavia gave a powerful impulse to a further development of bilateral relations.

The sides exchanged information on the preparations for the 19th all-union CPSU conference and the conference of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Special attention was given to questions of bilateral economic cooperation, including that on the problems of the agro-industrial complex, the problems of agrarian policies in the USSR and the SFRY, as well as to the place of agriculture in transforming the economic system in both countries.

Zhivkov Receives Kulikov in Sofia

LD1305134788 Moscow TASS in English 1253 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] Sofia May 13 TASS—Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, chairman of Bulgaria's State Council, received here today members of the Military Council of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries, briefed Viktor Kulikov on the work of the Military Council session held in Sofia.

The reception was attended by General of the Army Dobri Dzhurov, Bulgaria's people's defence minister, member of the Political Bureau of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, and Velko Palin, head of the department "Social and National Security" of the Bulgarian Communist party Central Committee.

Razumovskiy Meets Bulgaria's Aleksandrov

LD1505223088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 15 May 88

[Text] [Chudomir] Aleksandrov, Politburo member, BCP Central Committee secretary, was in Moscow from 13 to 15 May inclusive on a working visit at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee. Razumovskiy, Politburo candidate member, CPSU Central Committee secretary, had a meeting with Comrade Aleksandrov. There was an exchange of opinion on certain questions of organizational party work and ways to further improve it. The Bulgarian comrades were told about current preparations in our country for the 19th all-union party conference.

Babichev Studies BCP Management Development

PM1705113088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 May 88 First Edition p 5

[Unattributed report under the general heading "Official Announcements"]

[Text] Under the plan for CPSU-BCP interparty ties, a delegation of CPSU party workers headed by V.S. Babichev, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Organizational Party Work Department, was in Bulgaria 10 through 14 May, studying the activity of BCP committees in the conditions of the development of self-management.

The delegation had meetings and talks at the organizational department of the BCP Central Committee, Sofia City Party Committee, Mikhaylovgrad Okrug Party Committee, and BCP district committees, and visited a number of industrial and agricultural enterprises.

TASS Cites Kadar Interview on U.S. Television

LD1405023788 Moscow TASS in English 2155 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] Budapest May 13 TASS—The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party plays a leading role in the Hungarian society, Janos Kadar, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, said in an interview with the U.S. television network NBC, which was published here today.

On the agenda in Hungary now are the questions of upgrading the operation of political institutions, improving the production structure and enhancing profitability. Hungary will continue to move ahead on the road of reforms and socio-economic transformations.

He noted that socialist countries conduct a vigorous quest for enhancing the efficacy of economic advancement and direct efforts at the mutual study and use of each others experience in accordance with the available conditions.

The Hungarian leader commended the process of restructuring under way in the Soviet Union. He said that sweeping transformations occurring in all facets of life in the USSR evoke interest in the world over. Perestroyka is meant to resolve involved and ripe matters. These changes are an imperative of the time. The efforts by the Soviet people should be crowned with success. All this will signal for the Soviet people a new step forward in the cause of socialist construction.

Dwelling on the issues of international politics, Kadar said that the Hungarian people welcome the signing of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on eliminating intermediate- and shorter-range missiles and also the Soviet Union's bold decision concerning the settlement of the situation around Afghanistan.

In view of this, Kadar stressed that the stay of Soviet troops in Hungarian territory is dictated solely by international conditions. The Warsaw Treaty states, including Hungary, launched a proposal regarding the withdrawal of all troops stationed in the territories of foreign states. The solution of the issue of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungarian territory depends on the development of the international situation.

Hungarians Concerned Over Nuclear Waste Facility

PM1705132588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 May 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent B. Rodionov dispatch: "Hungary: Where Radiation Is Buried"]

[Text] Budapest—Hungarian specialists collated data from 49 different geographic points so as to propose a "candidate" for burial of waste from the "Paks" Nuclear Power Station and they finally plumped for the 50th—in a hilly, wooded corner of Baranya Megye.

Detailed comprehensive research conducted on the spot under an IAEA program confirmed the correctness of the choice. However, the residents of three nearby small villages did not like their future neighbor and protested to the megye council. In vain did representatives of the nuclear power station try to demonstrate to the villagers at a meeting that it is not spent fuel elements that will be subject to burial (under the terms of an agreement they are sent back to the Soviet Union) but considerably less radioactive materials which have been in the reactor's active zone and which, of course, have been hermetically sealed and cast in concrete. Mistrustful people were taken to sites where such waste is now located and were shown that people there are accustomed to the unusual "cemetery" and calmly carry on their lives and their work.

However, the villagers remained adamant. At their insistence the megye council invited a group of independent experts headed by a professor of geology. The conclusion of the invited specialists proved negative, chiefly because of misgivings over the region's seismicity (the storage pit was designed to withstand an earthquake measurement of 8 on the Richter scale, but experts referred to the hypothetical possibility of a stronger earthquake during the next 600 years).

After that the two groups of specialists "crossed swords" in an open debate which the whole country followed. The newspaper MAGYAR HIRLAP, for example, set forth the two sides' arguments in detail, not forgetting to make them more or less comprehensible to the general public. As a result of the debate the viewpoints came closer together, and a joint protocol was signed. However, the megye council was mistrustful and passed a resolution to "reject" it. Well, it is its right and duty to ensure that the residents of even the smallest village do not fear for the health of their great-great-grandchildren. But the "Paksa" power workers, who provided approximately half of all the electricity generated in Hungary this winter, also can and must be understood....

The nuclear power station and the planners appealed against the council resolution to the Ministry of Environmental Issues, which will presumably ask an authoritative commission of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences to adopt a final decision. There is no time to lose: The storage pit is to be commissioned by 1991.

So, this dispute has still not been finally ended. I have spoken of it without waiting for the end because I thought: Just a few years ago, when a temporary storage pit for such waste was being chosen, everything proceeded quietly and peacefully. Now, after Chernobyl, people have a greatly intensified sense of ecological danger—sometimes substantiated, sometimes not. In any case, under conditions of broadening glasnost, it cannot be disregarded.

Advertising Enterprise Formed With Hungary

LD1305213188 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1915 GMT 12 May 88

[Text] Moscow, 12 May (TASS)—The joint Soviet-Hungarian enterprise "Tissa", created by combining the "Soyuztorgreklama" association of the USSR Ministry of Trade and the Hungarian advertising enterprise "Mahir", will advertise the goods of foreign firms and Soviet organizations. It was officially launched in the Soviet capital today.

According to Albert Artyukh, "Tissa" director general, the enterprise will provide a wide range of services for Soviet and foreign clients. These will include arranging the holding exhibitions, trade fairs and symposia, popularizing the commercial links of companies, producing advertising films, commercials, video clips, printed matter of various kinds, including posters and catalogues, producing souvenirs, and much else. Initially, advertising services will be provided for those foreign firms and organizations which aim for active cooperation with Soviet partners.

"Tissa" has already concluded a number of contracts with foreign firms, the most important of which is a contract with the Italian "Publitalia-80," providing for the showing of the industrial advertising of firms from 13 West European countries.

MSZMP's Berecz on Stagnation, Change

LD1405173088 Moscow TASS in English 1322 GMT 14 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 14 TASS—If symptoms of stagnation appear in socialist society, if a change is necessary, if new questions arise, you cannot do without radical reforms, Janos Berecz, member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, told a correspondent of the magazine "EKHO PLANETY" (ECHOES OF THE PLANET). The interview was granted in Budapest on the eve of the all-Hungary party conference due to open on May 20.

Characterising the present-day situation in the country, Janos Berecz said: The problems have noticeable sharpened. The economic difficulties, above all, have increased and this adversely affects the social security, the living standards of the population, especially some sections of the population. And yet I am confident that there is no crisis. The reality is our fear of them and not the crisis itself."

"We are not satisfied with the way we until now understood socialism, the way we imagined it. Yesterday's image of socialism has performed its function- it kindled enthusiasm in us for decades. Everybody is interested to know what socialism will mean tomorrow, that is what we fight for and which of its elements are present already today."

"We have laid the foundation of the new system, but there are also contradictions stemming from the parallel existence of the market mechanism and planned economy."

"People ask: Say loud and clear what you believe to be the fundamental values of the socialist system. Our idea of these values already today is not only that of the material benefits in social policy, but above all social fairness, the possibility of the participation of the masses in decision-making, further development of democracy, alliance, and mutual respect of all classes and sections of the society. Of great significance are stable moral norms. There is a great need that humanism be built not only on the material base, but also on mutual respect between people."

"We will have to do a tremendous amount of work in the course of many years. The program for action is to be endorsed by the all-Hungary party conference, and we would like to take decisive steps in the direction outlined already before the 14th congress of the party in 1990."

"We can very well feel how important to us is the process which started in the Soviet Union under the leadership of the CPSU and is determined by the words perestroyka and glasnost," Janos Berecz emphasized.

West Europe

Reportage on Cooperation Talks With West Germans

Credits Granted to USSR

LD1205221388 Moscow TASS in English 2039 GMT 12 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 12 TASS—Martin Bangemann, minister of economics of the Federal Republic of Germany, chairman of the Free Democratic Party, has spoken out in support of the FRG's decision to grant credit to the Soviet Union to the tune of 3,500 million marks. He spoke here today at a press conference on the results of the 16th session of the USSR-FRG Commission for Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation.

In answer to the question about the FRG's attitude to the criticism of this decision by U.S. Secretary of Defence Frank Carlucci at the May 10 hearings in the U.S. Congress, Martin Bangemann emphasized that "the question of granting a credit is a purely economic one. The Federal Republic regards economic cooperation within the central context of peaceful development of relations with foreign states, including the USSR. This is why Frank Carlucci's remarks in the form in which they were issued give rise to surprise".

Joint Communique Signed

LD1205143588 Hamburg DPA in German 1255 GMT 12 May 88

[Excerpts] Moscow (DPA/VWD)—Opportunities for German industry to participate in the modernization of the Soviet consumer goods industry were the focus of a 2-day meeting of the German-Soviet economic commission in Moscow. The collaboration of German companies in the tapping of raw material resources on the Kola Peninsula and in the processing of Siberian oil and natural gas was also discussed.

After the signing of a joint communique today by Federal Economics Minister Martin Bangemann and Aleksey Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Antonov said both sides wanted to "raise cooperation to a new level." This had been "no usual meeting," and "wide-ranging measures" had been agreed on. In addition, the meeting had served as preparation for the meetings between party leader Mikhail Gorbachev and Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl this year and next. Bangemann, who returns to the Federal Republic this evening, wil be in Moscow again next Monday for meetings with Gorbachev and Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov.

The Soviet Union intends to enact its recently adopted program for modernization of the light and foodstuffs industry by 1990. According to informed sources, Moscow is seeking strong partners in this. Experts stressed that modernization is involved here, and not just the supplying of final consumer goods products. During the meeting, the Soviet side let it be known that other countries were also being considered for cooperation.

Informed circles said Moscow sees increased production of consumer goods as a priority and as a "test for the policy of restructuring," informed sources say. [passage omitted]

The formation of a joint consortia to solve large-scale branch and regional tasks, such as exploiting the Kola Peninsula, was discussed. Large projects in the energy, economy, metallurgy, chemicals, engineering, and other industrial branches were also the subject of negotiations. The experts also discussed cooperation in machine construction for the timber, chemical pulp, and paper industry. The Soviet Union had also shown interest in safety technology for reactors and in the manufacture of high-temperature reactors.

The next meeting of the commission is planned for the first half of 1989 in the Federal Republic.

FRG's Bangemann Returns for Further Talks

Meets With Ryzhkov

PM1705111188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 May 88 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Talk in Kremlin"]

[Text] On 16 May N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received M. Bangemann, FRG economics minister and co-chairman of the USSR and FRG Commission on Economic and Scientific and Technical Cooperation, who is in Moscow in connection with the commission's 16th session.

During the thorough exchange of opinions, there was an examination primarily of questions of bilateral cooperation between the USSR and the FRG from the viewpoint of the new opportunities opened up for Soviet-West German economic relations under conditions of the economic reform in the USSR and restructuring of foreign economic activity. Special attention was paid to the question of cooperation in modernizing the USSR's light and food industry enterprises, on which an accord in principle was reached recently with FRG firms and banks.

Noting the important contribution made by the session of the USSR and FRG commission to the elaboration of specific projects for economic cooperation between the two countries, N.I. Ryzhkov stressed that the Soviet Union regards the FRG as one of its leading partners in the West and expects its business circles and government to make efforts in response to expand and intensify collaboration in the economic sphere.

M. Bangemann spoke of the desire of FRG business circles for broader access to the Soviet market, for the development of new forms of economic collaboration, and for the use of the growing opportunities for the international division of labor. He confirmed the interest of FRG firms in taking part, together with the firms of other Western countries, in the creation of a complex of enterprises for the processing of hydrocarbon raw material in West Siberia and in the development of the natural resources of the Kola Peninsula.

It was noted that the positive advances in the international situation create favorable preconditions for deepening political dialogue between East and West as a whole and the USSR and the FRG in particular. Federal Chancellor H. Kohl's forthcoming visit to the USSR should be an important stage in the development of bilateral relations and should reinforce the positive changes in them.

Present at the talk were A.K. Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; V.L. Malkevich, chairman of the presidium of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry; and A.P. Bondarenko, member of the USSR Foreign Ministry Collegium; A. Meyer-Landrut, FRG ambassador to the USSR; and A. Gerlach, deputy department director of the FRG Ministry of Economics.

Received by Gorbachev

LD1605152488 Moscow TASS in English 1519 GMT 16 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 16 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev today received the economics minister of the Federal Republic of Germany and chairman of the Free Democratic Party of Germany, Martin Bangemann.

The discussion was relatively brief, but extremely substantive. The main subject was the place and importance of Soviet-West German relations for each side, for present-day European and world process.

"We are conducting an active dialogue with the Federal Republic, now involving all major political forces of your country," Gorbachev said. "We duly assess this, while the intensity is explained by the fact that one has to pick up on the things lost in the past.

"Both sides are following with attention the processes taking place in the two countries. [This and subsequent variations are reported by Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 17 May, which carries in its Second Edition on pages 1-2 a similar report on the meeting between Gorbachev and Bangemann. Here PRAVDA reads: "Both sides are following with great attention the processes taking place in the two countries."] This confirms that Soviet-West German relations are a key to understanding many issues in European and world politics. This understanding is very important for today and especially for tomorrow if we really want to build a Europe without complexes, on the basis of realities, with due account for the achievements and specific features of its peoples, given respect to the values they have created throughout their centuries-long and eventful history.

"We regard the Federal Republic of Germany as a major factor, including from the viewpoint of philosophical notions of the present-day international community. Besides, for us it is easier to understand many things you have because the Russian and German peoples have long since known each other, their history was closely interconnected. They can talk with each other with the directness typical of their national characters. [Here the PRAVDA report reads: "Besides, for us it is easier to understand many things you have because the Russian and German peoples have long since known each other, their history was very closely interconnected. They can talk to each other with the directness generally typical of their national characters."]

"I can state that we have already turned a page in our relations, and started writing a new one.

"We are prepared to do that with any government in the FRG if we are convinced that the Germans never allow anything like national socialism, nor agree to have a revenge-seeking government."

The conversation went time and again beyond problems of European process. "No good will come off in the world without Europe," Gorbachev observed. "Europe possesses vast experience, everything that is required for projecting its own future and encouraging constructive processes around the world.

"That is precisely why we have never relegated European affairs to the background under any circumstances, no matter what was said, despite claims that the USSR in relations with the West has other, more preferable interests. We prove that not only with our statements, but also with real deeds—and more so as we proceed."

Bangemann informed the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee about his party's East policy and about a course towards improving and developing relations with the USSR, characteristic also of other West German parties.

He positively assessed the work of the Commission for Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation which met in Moscow recently.

"In bilateral economic relations, not everything is proceeding now in a way that would satisfy both sides. And this is natural," Gorbachev said. "Especially if one considers the changes we are undertaking and the fact how much more our cadres will have to learn in the sphere of foreign policy. [Here PRAVDA reads: "Especially if one considers the changes we are undertaking and the fact of how much more our cadres will have to learn in the sphere of foreign economic policy."]

"We take a sober view of that. One should not fear life. This is an inevitable transition period. And we count that the Germans will display their philosophical assets. The matter is not reduced to amassing a nice little sum as soon as possible.

"It is better to build relations on a long-term basis," Gorbachev said. His remark evoked full understanding and support on the part of Bangemann.

Both sides were unanimous that the forthcoming summits and Chancellor Helmut Kohl's visit to the USSR should be prepared along these lines. This would give a chance to sum up everything that had been achieved in the recent years, consider all major Soviet-West German meetings over that period and raise relations to a new level with an eye for the future.

"When I think about the second wind in our relations," Gorbachev noted, "I cannot consider them without developing economic ties. Political will alone will not produce reliable cooperation and impart to them required dynamism unless our countries become more 'dependent' on each other.

"I don't mean encroachments on the sovereignty of one or the other side. I mean the creation of such a good material foundation for our relations that each side will need the other economically, that the fusion of what both countries have will bring tangible great benefit to both peoples, to European cooperation and world economy.

"Our relations will then acquire impressive human dimensions. It will then become possible to speak of their complete reliability. And this could be achieved without lapsing either into utopia or illusions, but remaining on the real ground and absolute independence. All that is not simple and will require time. Anyway, such is the principled stance of the Soviet leadership with regard to relations with the FRG."

The sides exchanged views on the question of shaping relations between the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the European Economic Community. They voiced the mutual desire that this process be completed in the near future. Obviously, linking the economies of the two economic structures was not easy and would call for more time.

Bangemann drew attention to a major event in the EEC's development due in 1992—the establishment of a single market. He expressed readiness to help the Soviet leadership familiarise themselves with the content and character of that basic development in the life of Western Europe.

Similar principled approaches were reaffirmed with regard to the chief problem of European process—nuclear, chemical and conventional disarmament. [Moscow TASS in English at 1413 GMT on 16 May transmits a service message correcting the previous sentence as follows: "Similar principled approaches were reaffirmed with regard to the chief problem of European process relating to disarmament."] All peoples in Europe were waiting for its solution which was required for the normal construction of the "European home."

The FRG's ambassador to the USSR, Andreas Meyer-Landrut, and Assistant to the Minister A. Gerlach took part in the conversation.

Soviets 'Request' Meeting

LD1605072788 Hamburg DPA in German 0643 GMT 16 May 88

[Excerpt] Moscow (DPA)—Federal Economics Minister Martin Bangemann met with Soviet Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov in the Kremlin in Moscow. Soviet party leader Mikhail Gorbachev intends to receive Bangemann afterwards.

According to what has been said, the meeting with Gorbachev came about unexpectedly at the Soviets' request. The extension of German-Soviet economic relations and the extension of the consumer goods industry, which the USSR wants to speed up, will probably be the center of the talks. [passage omitted]

Newsmen Briefed on Talks

LD1605123188 Hamburg DPA in German 1117 GMT 16 May 88

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—According to Federal Economics Minister Martin Bangemann, the Soviet Union is striving for long-term economic cooperation with the Federal Republic. General Secretary of the CPSU Mikhail Gorbachev has also expressed the hope that the visit by Chancellor Helmut Kohl, expected in the autumn will make clear the "new quality of relations" between the Federal Republic and the Soviet Union, Bangemann told journalists after a talk with the Soviet party leader. Bangemann had earlier talked with Soviet Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov. Bangemann did not exclude the possibility of new joint venture treaties being concluded being Kohl's visit to Moscow in order to document the "new quality."

Bangemann said the USSR wants economic cooperation with the Federal Republic not to be "one of the usual investment plans," but to lead to long-term cooperation. This applies to tapping raw material resources on the Kola Peninsula, the production of chemical and mineral oil products in Western Siberia, and in particular, the expansion of the foodstuffs and consumer goods industry, in which the USSR has an increased interest. He assured Gorbachev and Ryzhkov that Bonn would do what it could—also regarding the guaranteeing of credits—in order constructively to accompany the efforts of the German economy.

Gorbachev expressly praised the "positive contributions" of the Federal Government, which Bonn has made and is making in the disarmament process, Bangemann said. He told Gorbachev that Bonn wants resolutely to continue the course toward cooperation in all areas. "The progress is considerable," Bangemann said. He believes that "German-Soviet trade can be revived. Because of the USSR's reduced hard currency earnings, there had not been any breakthrough. But now that the "end of the trough had been reached," there is again an "upward movement."

Regarding the EC and CEMA, Gorbachev expressed his conviction that the framework treaty on possibilities for cooperation could be ready for conclusion before the end of June. Bangemann said that Romania still has reservations.

Ryzhkov Receives Austrian Economics Official

LD1605164788 Moscow TASS in English 1604 GMT 16 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 16 TASS—Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received in the Kremlin today Rudolf Sallinger, president of Austria's Federal Economic Chamber.

They held a substantive exchange of views on the present state and prospects of cooperation betwenen the USSR and Austria, including the trade and economic sphere.

The sides expressed the common view that the good-neighbourly Soviet-Austrian relations, based on the principles of the 1955 States Treaty and the law on perpetual neutrality of Austria, were a factor of peace and stability in Europe.

It was noted that the restructuring of economic management and perfection of the mechanism of foreign economic ties, currently under way in the Soviet Union, created favourable opportunities for more effective development of economic cooperation between the two countries at a qualitatively new level.

This was being implemented, specifically, through the establishment of joint Soviet-Austrian ventures.

Ryzhkov and Sallinger came out in favour of broadening the use of available reserves in establishing new forms of cooperation, including co-production and joint construction of projects in the Soviet Union.

The sides considered a number of specific proposals for deepening bilateral economic ties, including those within the context of the accords reached during the July 1987 visit to Austria by the Soviet prime minister.

'Comrades' Pay Tribute to Britain's Philby

PM1705081788 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 May 88 First Edition p 5

[Obituary: "In Memory of Kim Philby"]

[Text] Kim Philby, the remarkable Soviet intelligence officer, died on 11 May in his 77th year.

Kim Philby had devoted all his adult life to the cause of the Great October Socialist Revolution, to the cause of communism, and to exposing the subversive activities of the imperialist countries' special services against the Soviet state and against peace and social progress.

An internationalist serviceman characterized by boundless faith in the triumph of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, loyalty to socialist ideals, readiness for self-sacrifice, and an unbending will has departed this life.

The life of Kim Philby, a fighter on the invisible front, was full of dangers which had to be overcome with courage and heroism, and he displayed these constantly.

The long years of the secret struggle of Kim Philby, a man with a sense of lofty internationalist duty, began back in the thirties with the struggle against fascism. The multifaceted and geographically wide-ranging feats of the veteran of the Soviet intelligence service covered the territory of a number of European states and Near and Middle East countries.

For a long time, Kim Philby was engaged in exceptionally difficult work, or rather struggle, directly in the capitalist countries' special services, whose activities were directed against the Soviet Union and against the world progressive movement. These were years of truly colossal nervous tension which required all his spiritual and physical strength and necessitated a constant quest for unorthodox solutions. Frequently Philby managed to accomplish what seemed impossible. Philby never made a mistake; his actions were always precisely calculated. This was facilitated by his high moral qualities and willpower, endurance and self-control, profound intellect, and knowledge of the enemy and of his methods of work.

In 1963, having successfully carried out another mission, Kim Philby came to Moscow, where he continued the work which had become the meaning and content of his entire life. He loved the Soviet Union and Moscow infinitely and kept stressing that it was here that he had found real personal happiness.

Kim Philby was a man with an exceptional soul and a great heart. His sensitive, thoughtful attitude to his family and colleagues and his readiness to help out with advice and action, combined with his principledness, honesty, and high sense of duty, won him the profound respect and recognition of all who had any—even the briefest—dealings with him. An internationalist, Kim Philby loved his English people, treasured their spiritual wealth, and believed in their happy future.

For outstanding services to the Soviet state, Kim Philby was awarded the Order of Lenin, Orders of the Red Banner, the Patriotic War First Class, and the Friendship of Peoples, as well as many medals. He had the title of Meritorious Staffer of State Security bestowed on him.

The bright memory of a communist, an outstanding internationalist intelligence officer, and our dear and loyal friend will live on in the grateful hearts of Soviet people forever.

[Signed] A group of comrades

Comparison on Demichev Meeting With Italians

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 14 May carries in its Second Edition on page 4 a TASS report on the 13 May meeting of Petr Demichev, first vice president of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, with Italian journalists. The PRAVDA report, "Conversation With Italian Journalists," has been compared with the Moscow TASS English version published in the 16 May Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 43, revealing the following variations:

Column one, first paragraph, line four reads in PRAVDA: "...held in the Kremlin on 13 May." (changing wording)

Column one, paragraph two, line two reads in PRAVDA: "...Soviet society, putting specific questions.

Answering them, P.N. Demichev talked about the changes that have taken place in the last 3 years in the socioeconomic, political, cultural, and moral spheres. He stressed that the forthcoming 19th All-Union CPSU Conference will be an important landmark in the process of revolutionary transformations and further progress along the path of radical economic reform and democratization. He noted the active role played in the preparation for this event by our country's mass media.

Participants in the...." (adding paragraph)

Latin America & Caribbean

AFP Report on 'Kidnapped' Journalist 'Mistaken'

PM1705081588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 May 88 First Edition p 7

[AFP report with PRAVDA comment: "They Acted With Force"]

[Text] San Salvador, 12 May (AFP)—A Soviet journalist was kidnapped Wednesday evening from a hotel in downtown San Salvador by three unknown people, correspondents who were on the scene testify.

The kidnap victim was Yuriy Stroyev, a PRAVDA (Footnote) (The AFP dispatch is mistaken. It should read KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA and not, as in the text, PRAVDA) correspondent covering Nicaragua and other Latin American countries, who had arrived in El Salvador Sunday.

The journalist was taken from the hotel by force and bundled into a red car, which left for an unknown destination.

U.S. citizen Douglas Ferakh [name as published], president of the Association of Foreign Journalists, stated to AFP that his Soviet colleague had told him that he had a visa for a 12-day visit to the country and was proud that he would be the first Soviet journalist in 10 years to visit El Salvador.

The authorities have yet to report either the journalist's expulsion or his disappearance. [AFP report ends]

[Unattributed PRAVDA comment] It has since become clear that Yu. Stroyev was expelled from the country by the El Salvador authorities. He is now at a TASS correspondents' center in Guatemala. His health is fine.

Duarte Cited on El Salvador Peace Talks

LD1605150888 Moscow TASS in English 1027 GMT 16 May 88

[Text] Havana May 15 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Pshenichnikov:

El Salvador's President Duarte has announced his intention to discuss on the multilateral basis the proposal of the patriotic organizations on a resumption of a peaceful dialogue. The meeting on that issue to be held next week will be attended by representatives of the Christian Democratic Party (PDC) headed by Duarte, the Nationalist Republican Alliance (ARENA) party and the National Reconciliation (PCN) Party.

Proceeding from the provisions of the Guatemala peace accords, the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front and the Revolutionary Democratic Front came out last Friday with the initiative that multilateral talks be held for overcoming the deep socio-political crisis and achieving just peace in El Salvador, where a bloody civil war has been raging for the eighth year now. The Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front and the Revolutionary Democratic Front proposed the Duarte regime, the Army and the Legislative Assembly (parliament) meet on May 30-31 for outlining ways towards an end to the war. No final decision has yet been taken on the venue of the meeting.

The statement by the patriots, which was sent to President Oskar Arias of Costa Rica proposes a resumption of the activities of the two mixed commissions, one of which will have to control stage-by-stage ceasefire and the second—the implementation of the other provisions of the Guatemala accords. The decision to set up these commissions was taken last October in the course of the latest dialogue between the authorities and the guerrillas, which was not developed through the fault of the regime obeying the orders of the USA.

Speaking with the TASS correspondent, representatives of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front stressed that the latest initiative of the patriots is highly important, since it opens the way to participation in the dialogue for practically all sections of the Salvadorean society—the trade unions, student, public and religious organizations. The Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front and the Revolutionary Democratic Front trust that it is impossible to guarantee democratic peace without the participation of the mass of the people in deciding the country's future.

Kamentsev, Rodriguez Lead Talks in Cuba

LD1705104288 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0120 GMT 17 May 88

[Text] Havana, 17 May (TASS)—A routine session of the intergovernmental Soviet-Cuban Commission on Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation opened in the Cuban capital Monday. The Soviet delegation at the session is led by Vladimir Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Foreign Economic Commission. The Cuban side is led by Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, member of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and vice president of the Council of State and of the Council of Ministers of the Republic.

Political & Social

Sumgait Offender Receives 15-Year Sentence

LD1605174788 Moscow TASS in English 1733 GMT 16 May 88

[Text] Baku May 16 TASS—One of the participants in disturbances in Sumgait was today sentenced to 15 years imprisonment. Talekh Salekh Ogly Ismailov was found guilty of premeditated murder. The sentence is final and is not subject to appeal.

15 years is the maximum term of imprisonment envisaged by Soviet criminal legislation.

Court investigations into the cases of instigators of the mass disorders in Sumgait will be continued.

TV Program on Nagorno-Karabakh Pondered

PM1605115388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 May 88 Morning Edition p 7

[S. Dardykin article under the rubric "Together by the Television Set": "Reflections After 'Reflections'"]

[Text] On Thursday 12 May, at the request of viewers, Central Television screened a repeat showing of the broadcast "Standpoint. Nagorno-Karabakh. Reflections Aloud." [An editorial report on the program was published in the 28 April Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 48-56.]

We and the "Standpoint" shooting group took parallel courses, frequently meeting with the very same people and, as came to light in the broadcast, asking them similar questions. By that time both they, the television workers, and we newspaper people were chiefly interested not in the facts, for they were more or less known. We were interested in the causes: How could we, who are brought up to believe that we are a unified family, have come to such a pass? To what happened in Sumgait. We had to admit bitter, fantastic, incomprehensible things: People had been killed and maimed physically and morally just because they were of a different nationality. Because of events which were taking place hundreds of kilometers away and with which the victims had no connection.

At that time, during our assignement to Yerevan, Stepanakert, Baku, and Sumgait, it seemed that a sobering up had to take place. That literally every one of our interlocutors had the same need—to investigate in a calm and considered manner what was happening, without rebukes or suspicion concerning the other side—but a need which everyone had there, even if we heard something unheard-of in the office of a party leader of republic caliber: "We, too, could have led the people into the streets."

This thought, in particular, was aired in the "Standpoint" program: If the leaders of Azerbaijan and Armenia had been able to find a common language, probably nothing would have happened. It is hard to disagree with that.

The prime cause of the events in Nagorno-Karabakh lies not in history or in religion, as certain people in both Yerevan and Baku tried to prove to us with identical ardor, although these did leave their mark. Not in the intrigues of some hostile forces or, of course, in some ineradicable features of the neighboring people's national character and structure. The prime cause is both more prosaic and, at the same time, more complex. It lies in a scornful attitude toward people's legitimate interests. Someone's omissions, even unintentional ones arising simply out of incompetence, laziness, negligence, or shortsightedness, on acquiring a national coloration, as in Nagorno-Karabakh, entail a distortion of the nationalities policy and become a detonator of hostility. Isolated shortcomings easily accounted for by objective circumstances, if they are still isolated, can be seen as a chance occurrence, as a pretext for intrigues maturing in some people's ill-intentioned minds. But, accumulated together in a small autonomous oblast, they willy-nilly appear like an artificial restriction on its development.

All this has been said before, but it is worth repeating, and this is why. The party and the government found a means to rectify the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh by adopting the well-known program to accelerate its socioeconomic development. According to the elementary logic of things, people in both Armenia and Azerbaijan must be interested in its successful fulfillment. This is what must now be the primary cause of concern—action.

But, according to letters and telegrams which are continuing to reach the editorial office, it turns out that some people are concerned, above all, about something else: Whose side has been taken by the authors of a particular article, reportage, or broadcast (it followed from the epilogue to the repeat showing of "Standpoint" that it is no exception), whether they have tilted one way, or whether they have "been led along." If you really want to find a bias, one will always be found.

Recently we have frequently seen for ourselves that we are lacking in culture. Culture in production, arguments, and relations. Including interethnic relations. There is a shortage of mutual tolerance, respectfulness, and tractability. There is never an excess of these even in relations between two people. And when the interests of two peoples are concerned....

Is it really so important, I would like to ask the writers of dissatisfied letters and telegrams, who outargues whom and who has the last word? The malcontents all demand of journalists "the truth." But for some reason what they mean by this is always 100-percent confirmation of their own rightness, and any fact which refutes this is given a

hostile reception. At the same time, it is forgotten that there cannot be truth to order. Not even to an urgent, telegraphed order, nor even one ratified by a collective signature.

Is it worth storing up grievances and sprinkling salt on a wound which has become a common wound? No, we must not forget, for it still will not work out, but begin rectifying. So that it is never repeated.

Grigoryants, Witnesses Interviewed on Arrest

LD1605132488 Moscow World Service in English 1010 GMT 16 May 88

[Unidentified correspondent's report on the detention of Sergey Grigoryants in Kratovo, near Moscow—passages within quotation marks recorded in Russian fading into English translation]

[Text] [Announcer] We've already reported the detention of Sergey Grigoryants, a leader of the group which stands for altering the Soviet Union's political and public system. He was detained by the police in a Moscow suburb. Reporting the incident, some news agencies claimed that law enforcement officers beat up Grigoryants and tore his clothes. Our reporter visited the town of Lyubertsy, where Sergey Grigoryants was in custody after his trial, having been sentenced to 7 days in Jail: Here is the report.

[Reporter] In Lyubertsy I contacted the police and asked them to give me an opportunity to speak with Sergey Grigoryants. The opportunity was granted. During our interview Grigoryants told me:

[Grigoryants] "If they detain me for more than 7 days, and if I'm alive by then, I shall undoubtedly hold a news conference and tell newsmen in detail about this interview and about all that happened to me."

[Reporter] Sergey Grigoryants has been sentenced by the local court to 7 days in jail for disobeying law enforcers. He's promising to tell reporters about having been subjected to police brutality during his detention, about torture practised against him. The reference to torture compelled me to speak with Dr (Aleksandr Kurchagin) of the central hospital in the town of Ramenskoye, who had examined Grigoryants following his claims that policemen had brutally beaten him.

[(Kurchagin)] "When I examined Grigoryants I found no injuries at all. I discovered no neurologic [as heard] disorder either. The detainee needed no medical aid, and I let him leave, escorted by the police."

[Reporter] After satisfying myself that the man's references to torture were lies, I nevertheless decided to find out exactly what happened on 9th May in Kratovo, where Grigoryants was detained, what he was brought to trial for. My first interviewee was Vladimir (Sharyga) a secretary of the local government body that has jurisdiction over the town of Kratovo.

[(Sharyga)] "On 9th May I was on duty here. In the morning I was addressed by Valeriy (Aksakov) chief of the town's police force, with a request to take part in dealing with a complaint. The complaint concerned Sergey Grigoryants, who resided illegally at a cottage in Kratovo. The cottage belonged to a 95-year-old Nadezhda (Chernova), who let it last winter to a woman from Moscow. The woman let the wife of Grigoryants live there without the permission of the owner of the cottage. In the meantime, the owner had long wanted to sell the cottage. On 9th April she asked the local council to register the sale. On 6th May the local council registered the sale, and the daughter of the owner of the cottage asked Grigoryants to vacate it. Grigoryants declined to speak with her. He refused to let her in. The woman had to go to the police. But Grigoryants refused to speak with the district policeman, too. The district policeman reported this to his chief, (Valeriy Aksakov), and so, on 9th May, (Valeriy Aksakov) asked me to go to Kratovo, together with him and the daughter of the owner of the cottage, and help them settle the matter. And so we went to Kratovo.

"Once we went through the gate of the cottage we heard loud shouting; get out of here, make yourself scarce. In the meantime we represented the local authorities. We were on the territory under the jurisdiction of the government body we represented, and our only desire was to reinstate the owner of the house in her lawful rights. But Grigoryants declined to speak with the owner's daughter. He announced that he would speak only with the owner himself, even though she was 95 years old, and lived rather far from there, together with her son. Nevertheless, for the sake of settling the conflict, the chief of the local police, (Valeriy Aksakov) decided to comply with Grigoryants' demand."

[(Aksakov)] "When the old woman arrived, Grigoryants refused to let her in. Moreover, he pushed the 95-year-old woman, and she nearly fell down. He also pushed her 70-year-old daughter, who had undergone serious surgery not long ago. I tried to persuade him to be reasonable, and he pushed me too. He persisted in preventing us from entering the house, even though its owner had the right to enter her property any time. So we simply had to put him in our car and take him to the nearest police station. There, in the presence of witnesses, we issued a record of his detention, qualifying his conduct as disobedient to the police and to the representatives of the local government body, an offense covered by Article 165 of the Administrative Code of the Russian Federation. Grigoryants signed the record, which confirmed that the facts stated in it had been described correctly. Subsequently Judge (Korolev) sentenced Grigoryants to seven days in jail for malicious disobedience to law enforcers."

[Reporter] What I heard was quite convincing and yet I wanted to ascertain without doubt that the police had not exceeded their powers, and so I decided to interview people living in the houses that adjoined the controversial cottage. One of them was locomotive driver (Anatoliy Yonashuk).

[(Yonashuk)] "I entered the courtyard of the cottage. Law enforcement officers talked to Grigoryants and asked him to let them go [as heard]. No one beat him; he didn't swear, but made all kind of threats. He shouted: everyone of you will be dismissed. Then sergeants came up and led him away to a car."

[Reporter] One of the eye witnesses was pensioner [(Simonova)]: "I was there from the very start. Out district law enforcement inspector called on me and asked me to be a witness, since (Chernova)'s house was occupied illegally. At first, Grigoryants—I later learned his name—didn't let anyone in, demanded that the house owner be brought in. So she was brought in, and at the gates she was asked if she wanted to enter her home. She answered yes and Grigoryants didn't let her in. He pushed her, and nearly knocked her down. He shouted: I'll show you! All of you will be dismissed! Two policemen led him away."

[Reporter] So, the situation is clear enough. The law enforcement officers' actions have been put on record, and have been fully confirmed by ordinary people who saw everything for themselves. Grigoryants cannot refute their evidence. What else he'll invent for a news conference he plans for foreign newsmen, rather than for Soviet journalists, is hard to foresee. Sergey Grigoryants again:

[Grigoryants] "I was illegally searched. As a result, my trousers were torn apart."

[Reporter] So says Grigoryants, referred to abroad as a leader of the so-called Democratic Union, about the creation of which the western press has been trumpeting. "What are the goals and program of this union?"

[Grigoryants] "It's hard for me to tell, since I am not a member of the union, and my belonging to it is relatively indirect."

[Reporter] "The point is that the western news media have called you a leader of this organization."

[Grigoryants] "Well, perhaps they had a reason for that."

[Reporter] "But if you don't belong to it, how can you be a leader?"

[Grigoryants] "No, I am not a leader. This must be some exaggeration."

[Announcer] That was our reporter's account of what happened in the community of Kratovo near Moscow, and why Sergey Grigoryants was arrested for seven days.

Grigoryants Discusses Future of GLASNOST

AU1605164888 Vienna PROFIL in German No 20, 16 May 88 p 63

[Interview with Sergey Grigoryants, publisher of GLASNOST, by Allen Turner in Moscow: "Complaint Against PRAVDA"; date not given]

[Text] PROFIL: Will you continue to publish your magazine GLASNOST despite the fact that the authorities have closed your offices?

Grigoryants: GLASNOST has not been formally banned to date because there is no press law in the Soviet Union. Therefore, the authorities do not have any legal provisions to prosecute us. But the official papers have not been sparing of attacks. We have been accused of undermining the foundations of Soviet society and of spreading lies. We have therefore sued LITERNATURNAYA GAZETA for slander. We will also file a complaint against PRAVDA.

PROFIL: This is unprecedented in the Soviet Union.

Grigoryants: Much is now happening for the first time. But the attacks against us are serious. We are called "spies," "agitators," and "instigators" of domestic conflicts. We are held responsible for everything bad that turns up now. The absurd aspect of our situation is that to date the authorities have said neither clearly yes nor no with regard to the permission to publish our magazine.

PROFIL: The publishing offices have been closed; the attacks against you are increasing. Is this the end of GLASNOST?

Grigoryants: Well, we will manage. At present we are working here in my apartment because our offices have been closed. The latest edition of GLASNOST was published in spite of harrassment by the authorities. In this edition we discussed the unsolved nationality problem in the Soviet Union. This problem will yet cause many explosions in our country in the future.

PROFIL: Have there been attempts to muzzle you and your coworkers?

Grigoryants: First our dog was poisoned. Then our publishing offices that were located in a dacha were searched. Then our windows were broken and door was forced open. We called the police to complain but they did not want to come. Then they prohibited the owner of the dacha from renting his rooms to us.

PROFIL: Are you afraid of the police?

Grigoryants: No, the other way round—the police are afraid of me. The authorities know that I openly talk about unpleasant truths, even though they threaten me with many years in prison.

PROFIL: How often have you already been in prison?

Grigoryants: The last time I was imprisoned from 1983 to 1987. The first time they arrested me in 1975 and put me behind bars until 1979. At that time I illegally published daily reports on human rights violations in the Soviet Union, about the abuse of psychiatric hospitals, and so on. In total, I spent almost 7 years in prison.

PROFIL: Who is the greatest opponent of the course of glasnost?

Grigoryants: According to all available evidence, it is Yegor Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. His whole way of thinking is attuned to the old policy. He does not want any changes.

Checkpoints To Stop Animal Disease, Not Tatars

PM1605164788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 May 88 Morning Edition p 3

[G. Alimov report: "The Actual State of Affairs Is Different. Following a Cable Received by the Editorial Office"]

[Text] We received the cable in the morning of 16 May. It states that the Crimea is surrounded on all sides with a militia cordon and that special regulations have been introduced.... The editorial office got in touch with N. Bagrov, secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Crimean Obkom.

These claims lack all foundation, Nikolay Vasilyevich said. The situation in the oblast is normal. A meeting with representatives of the Crimean Tatars was held very recently. We had a businesslike, constructive discussion. There are no obstacles or restrictions as regards entry into the Crimea. People are coming in to visit relatives or the graves of their near and dear ones. Veterinary militia posts are currently on duty on the oblast's borders. The reason for this is that there has been a flareup of farm animal disease in a number of Ukrainian oblasts, including neighboring Kherson and Odessa Oblasts. The republic Gosagroprom has instructed us to introduce preventive measures. They have been in force for almost 1 and 1/2 weeks now. Trucks entering the oblast are checked, animals are examined. Disinfection is carried out. Such quarantine measures are normal sanitary practice in circumstances of this kind. And pretending that this is a cover for something else is simply incorrect.

This information was confirmed by the Main Veterinary Administration of the USSR Gosagroprom. We also called the Crimea Oblispolkom Internal Affairs Administration.

We have received a similar cable, they told us. We were very surprised. All this does not correspond to reality.

According to our information, the militia is working normally. No stepped up duties or cordons. "So there is no need to inflame the situation where nothing is happening," we were told.

Continuing 'Slander' by 'Doveriye' Group Scored

PM1605145188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 May 88 First Edition p 4

[V. Pustov report: "'Everything Is Fine,' Says Junior Sergeant L. Krichevskiy About His Service in the Army"]

[Text] KRASNAYA ZVEZDA readers are familiar with Lev Krichevskiy's name. It appeared on the pages of our newspaper on 9 December 1987. It appeared in connection with the appeal of serviceman Lev Krichevskiy to the editorial office to protect him against slanderous fabrications spread by a group which calls itself "Doveriye [Trust]." Let us recall that members of the "Doveriye" group were spreading blatant lies claiming that L. Krichevskiy did not want to serve in the Soviet Army and that as a result he was subjected to all kinds of persecution on the part of the command and the personnel of his unit.

The editorial office received many reactions. They are still coming in. Readers want to know in particular how L. Krichevskiy's military service is going, whether it proved possible to protect him against the slander on the part of the ringleaders of "Doveriye."

So off I go again to the military unit where I meet L. Krichevskiy, now no longer a private but a junior sergeant. As before, he is in high spirits, composed, full of smiles. He willingly talks about the military service which, though not easy, is a necessity and has its joyful as well as difficult moments. Everything is going well, L. Krichevskiy says of his military service. He has no complaints about his health either: He feels fine. He now has less than a year of service to do. When he comes out of the Army, he intends to continue his studies at a higher educational establishment. There are opportunities in the Army to prepare for this, he says.

I talked to his immediate superior, battery commander Captain I. Derevnin. Of course, military service is no summer camp, he says. However, for people like Lev Krichevskiy it is not a burden. He is disciplined, efficient, hard-working, and gets on well with his comrades. At a recent meeting of officers and sergeants it was decided to apply to the command to bestow the rank of junior sergeant on L. Krichevskiy. The command complied. Since his appointment as section commander, Komsomol member L. Krichevskiy has been coping with his new, more responsible duties well. He participates actively in social work.

So this is the state of affairs as regards Lev Krichevskiy. It is therefore all the more surprising that the "Doveriye" group has not given up. Recently they have made another attempt—let me note straight away, an attempt which has failed shamefully—to stage a disgraceful farce in Moscow "in defense of Lev Krichevskiy." In an attempt to slander the Soviet Army, the provocateurs shouted that perhaps he, L. Krichevskiy, is no longer among the living.

L. Krichevskiy is alive and well and discharging his military service with honor. Furthermore, as before, he resolutely condemns the initiators of the disgraceful campaign around his name who seem to have lost all human dignity, staging a campaign which is based on blatant lies and slander.

Yakovlev Attends Lenin Prize Ceremony

LD1305211488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 13 May 88

[Excerpts] The ceremonial presentation of diplomas and badges of honor to the winners of 1988 Lenin Prizes for literature, art, and architecture took place in Sverdlovskiy Hall at the Kremlin. [passage omitted] Taking part in the presentation ceremony were Comrade Yakovlev, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Comrades Voronov and Melnikov, chiefs of departments of the CPSU Central Committee; Comrade Slezko, first deputy chief of the Propaganda Department of the CPSU Central Committee; and Comrade Zakharov, USSR culture minister.

Biryukova Tours Vladivostok Olympic Facilities

LD1505215788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 15 May 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Aleksandra Pavlovna Biryukova, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, acquainted herself with the life of Vladivostok today. The fish-processing factory ship Aleksey Chuyev has just returned to the sea port of Vladivostok following a fishing expedition, and Aleksandra Pavlovna Biryukova met its crew. The conversation revolved around problems associated with the transfer of the fish industry of the Far East to new management conditions. An exhibition set out on board the factory ship showed new types of output. It is noteworthy that a good half of what was exhibited here was cultivated in the artificial underwater plantations of Maritime Kray.

At an exhibition fair of the kray's light industry, the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee expressed a number of wishes to the local sewing industry. The main one was more boldly to expand the product range and renew fashioned clothing. There is only one way to accomplish this: the creation of trading and industrial associations, long-term direct links with suppliers, and direct trading by the manufacturer.

Aleksandra Pavlovna Biryukova was shown the construction sites of Olympic facilities in Vladivostok, and also visited kids holidaying in the Okean All-Union Pioneers' Camp.

Elections to Party Conference Reported

Novgorod Delegates Chosen

LD1405230488 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 14 May 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] Elections of delegates to the 19th all-union party conference have begun in the country. Our special correspondent reports from Novgorod:

[Correspondent] The foundations of the success of the conference are being laid at the present time, when the names of its delegates are being called. Just imagine the possibility of choice—one delegate from nearly 4,000 Communists. Eighteen people are being elected here. Of course, there has been no order issued, but various social groups have been taken into account: on the voting list are workers, villagers, and representatives of the intelligentsia—everyone on whose labor the restructuring depends. Even before the plenum the local press reported on the candidates, who had been, as they say, discussed in all aspects in the collectives. Just 72 members of the party got through these furnaces of popular objectivity, conscience and rigor, and 18, I would repeat, are needed. Each candidacy was discussed at the plenum. Of the 18 candidates for whom they are about to vote, three represent the so-called central list; they aren't members of this party organization. They are a minister, a military man, and a diplomat. The need for such a procedure must, in the end, be explained, and not be reticent and make a secret out of it. And the need, for sure, lies in the fact that people who, by their state position, first and foremost, answer for restructuring absolutely must take part in the work of the conference with the highest authority. Hence the central list.

And so 18 delegates have to be elected. Their number cannot be increased. And on the list for secret voting there are also 18. No one should find this strange. If they included, say, 20, it is unlikely that any of them would get less than half of the votes, and then all 20 would get through, and this would be out of line with the standards of representation. But perhaps in other oblasts delegates will be elected by a direct majority of votes; in that case the list can be broadened, and the secret vote will have the possibility of selecting. [passage omitted]

Kiev, Sakhalin Elections

LD1605234388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 16 May 88

[Report from Kiev by Ukraine correspondent Vladimir Sokolov]

[Excerpts] [Sokolov] The enormous hall of the club of the Kiev Elektronmash production association is filled to capacity. An open party meeting is taking place. At the

association, of Communists alone, there are more than 1,200. Interest in the meeting is great. For the first time in this way they are deciding whom to recommend as candidate delegates for the forthcoming all-union party conference. This was preceded by similar meetings in party organizations in all complexes, shops and services, where 17 candidatures were discussed, since everywhere there are considerable numbers of Communists worthy of the lofty confidence of the party comrades. [passage omitted on requirements for candidates]

Under such criteria, in all party organizations apart from one, Arnold Grigoriyevich Nazarchuk, general director of the association, was named as candidate delegate. [passage omitted]

In one of the shops, they named as a candidate Valeriy Petrovich Kolesnichenko, secretary of the party committee of the association. [passage omitted]. These two candidatures have been put forward for discussion.

To start with, the meeting listens attentively to both of them. [passage omitted] They also listen attentively to the other candidate, the secretary of the party committee, although he himself admits that he has not succeeded in a short period of time to recommend himself to this post, and fulfilling the will of the majority of the party organization, the meeting, with an overwhelming majority of votes, puts forward Arnold Grigoriyevich Nazarchuk, the association's general director, as candidate delegate for the party conference.

[Announcer] Here is a completely different example. As is reported by our correspondent for Sakhalin Oblast, Vladimir Mezentsev, discussion of candidates put forward for the 19th all-union party conference took place there also. Conditions of secrecy, violation of rules of secret voting, and an absence of broad nationwide discussion generated a feeling of deep indignation among Communists in the oblast. At a meeting with representatives of the mass news media, Anatoliy Timofeyevich Kuzin, secretary of the oblast party committee, stated that elections are being conducted in accordance with a directive instruction that has supposedly come from Moscow. On 14 May a plenum of the oblast party committee chose 13 delegates, among whom not many can be called true champions of restructuring. At the correspondent station of Gosteleradio the telephone rings nonstop. The Communists in the oblast are demanding a review of candidatures, the convening of an extraordinary plenum of the oblast party committee, guarantees of democracy and glasnost to its participants. We can only join their demands. The near future will show how further events unfold.

Reform Opponents 'Barred'

PM1605155388 [Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 13 May 1988 in its Second Edition carries on page 1 under the headline "Elections of Delegates to the 19th All-Union Party Conference Have Begun: Trust in the Champions of Restructuring" a 300-word boxed item which reads:

"In accordance with the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum resolution, delegates to the 19th all-union party conference are to be elected in closed (secret) ballot at plenums of union republic Communist Party central committees and party kraykoms and obkoms.

"Yesterday such elections were held at a plenum of the Kalinin CPSU Obkom. Let us recall that the representation quota is one delegate per 3,780 party members. The Kalinin Oblast party organization elected 44 delegates.

"Yes, the question of delegates was ultimately resolved at the plenum. However, the candidacies were not determined there alone. The obkom plenum was preceded by extensive preparatory work. Via party raykoms and gorkoms, the obkom consulted primary party organizations and labor collectives in order to ensure that true champions of restructuring were elected as delegates.

"A careful selection of candidate delegates took place in party organizations on the Upper Volga (and there are more than 3,600 of them), CPSU Obkom First Secretary N. Tatarchuk relates. It was a selection which was marked by democracy and glasnost and which took place with the participation of nonparty people, without regimentation, instructions, or pressure from above. The only barrier put up was to ensure that people committed to the old ways, the apologists of stagnation, are barred from the conference....

"At different times the candidacies of more than 100 party members were discussed. Then came the final open party meetings in labor collectives before the plenum. Our correspondent attended a number of them. His account is published on page 2."

On page 2 PRAVDA carries a 2,100-word report by own correspondent N. Popinako, datelined Kalinin Oblast, in which he profiles three conference delegates—an electrician, a weaver, and a sovkhoz director—and cites an interview after the plenum with Kalinin Obkom First Secretary N. Tatarchuk, who will "head" the oblast's delegation to the conference. Tatarchuk notes that, although the delegates include a number of raykom and gorkom first secretaries, none of them is chosen for his titles.

Popov: Apparatus Fixes Choice of Delegates

PM1705085588 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 May 88 p 4

[D. Shevchenko "Two Questions at the End of the Week" feature in which public figures respond to the following questions: "1. What Events Gladdened You This Week? 2. What Events Annoyed You?"]

[Excerpt] Doctor of Economic Sciences Prof Gavriil Popov:

What gladdened me?

The central question today is the nomination of delegates to the 19th party conference. How the party conference turns out for the party and the country depends on these nominations.

In this connection I am gladdened by the news from the capital's primary party organizations. There was a lot of talk to the effect that Muscovites have been spoiled and pampered with hothouse conditions and are capable only of unanimously approving either directives themselves or initiatives organized on the basis of directives.

But the discussion began, and I am hearing increasingly often of organizations where traditional candidacies are "going up in smoke." Instead they are nominating Rector Yuriy Afanasyev, economist Otto Latsis, and other worthy Communists. And almost 400 Communists at the Moscow State University Economics Faculty adopted with one vote against and one abstention a resolution condemning as undemocratic the procedure for nominating candidates proposed by Moscow's Leninskiy CPSU Raykom.

It turns out that the Moscow Communists themselves were not passive and conceited. It was the leaders who exploited the atmosphere of stagnation to fill the rungs of the apparatus hierarchy who tried to keep them in this role. But the Moscow Communists do not want to see them as their candidates. How can you believe their speeches when you see before you Moscow's shops, Moscow's transport, and Moscow's clinics and hospitals? How can cadres who cannot cope with the elementary sugar-vodka problem, all the details of which have been known throughout the world for centuries, now organize robotization or computerization?

One can only pay tribute to the personal courage of those who have such faith in the ultimate success of restructuring that they are not afraid to vote openly against candidates proposed from above.

That is why I am now proud to say that I am a Moscow Communist. For the glorious traditions of the Moscow Bolsheviks are being revived.

What annoys me?

Of course, I did not expect the apparatus to relinquish the list of candidates without a fight. But even in the worst period of stagnation I did not see such an unpardonable, impudent, and ostentatious refusal to find out the opinion of ordinary Communists and an attempt not to take this opinion into consideration. Then they at least looked for some camouflage. But now?

For instance, a raykom only assembles party organization secretaries to discuss the candidates.

Or the discussion is entrusted only to committees and bureaus. As a last resort they recommend that the aktiv be assembled after thought has been given well in advance to its composition. But there must be no general meetings of Communists!

The apparatus—usually extremely receptive to everything coming from above—became completely deaf when its interests were affected. It simply "did not catch" the opinion of the CPSU Central Committee expressed recently by M.S. Gorbachev that candidates must without fail be selected with the participation of party organizations, labor collectives, and the general public. Precisely with the participation of organizations (and not the bureaus or aktivs) and precisely with the participation of all labor collectives (they have been simply forgotten, just like the role of the whole people in the selection). And why not discuss the candidacies of party and government leaders at the same time?

Apparatus personnel are preparing for a conference devoted to democratization using methods which prevailed during the time of braking. [Popov ends] [passage omitted]

Conference Delegate Selection Issue Viewed

PM1705095588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 May 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Vladimir Nadein article under the rubric "Event and Opinion": "Must the Second Be a Woman?"]

[Text] The chief political event of the week was the meeting at the Central Committee with leaders of the mass media, ideological establishments, and creative unions. The general secretary's speech was undoubtedly its core.

The speech included facts, impressions, thoughts, and warnings. I think you will agree that not just the study but even the simple reading of such documents is work. Work of thought, memory, and conscience. It is difficult because it is attended by a choice. Left alone with a newspaper page, every one of us defines his own personal position.

"I believe that conservatism is the chief factor applying the brakes to restructuring," we read from M.S. Gorbachev. But what do you believe? What does he, she believe? There are no readymade answers. There is a clash of opinions. Let us recall: According to PRAVDA's data, three-fourths of those who sent the editors their comments actively supported the points made in the well-known editorial article. But do we have the right to disregard another entire one-fourth, who disagree?

Or this point: "We must inflict a defeat on conservatism along the paths of restructuring." Consequently, by using the methods of restructuring: openly, publicly, through honest comparison and competition of positions. And furthermore: so that no one is afraid to express his opinion.

Will all who sincerely consider themselves champions of restructuring agree with this principled adherence to democratic procedure? No. Many still put their trust firmly in the effectiveness of practical conclusions. Why stand on ceremony with them, they say? Whoever is not with us is against us. As children of our time, we are only with difficulty arriving at the realization that the administrative-edict system cannot be broken down by administrative-edict methods and that, in the final analysis, "progressive" bellowing is just as dangerous as "reactionary" bellowing.

Of course, when the general secretary speaks, this is not just an invitation to reflect on something. There is both a program and instructions. For Communists they are obligatory. For the whole country they are of fundamental importance. For example: "Very many people are concerned about who will be selected for the conference and in whose hands the fate of adopting decisions on vitally important, fateful problems of our society and of socialism will lie.... The CPSU Central Committee has given its opinion on the procedure for selecting candidates for election as conference delegates. We have formulated the position that ardent champions of restructuring and active Communists must be elected delegates. There are to be no general schedules, as was the case in the past—so many workers and peasants, so many women, and so forth."

On 13 May PRAVDA described how candidate delegates to the 19th all-union party conference are selected. The strengthening of the principles of the democratic process and glasnost and the involvement of the public in the discussion of candidacies were noted. But does such an approach prevail everywhere?

I have before me two telegrams from our own correspondents, dated 12 May. A. Yezhelev from Leningrad: "At yesterday's meeting of representatives of the mass media Comrade A.Ya. Degtyarev, secretary of Leningrad party obkom, was asked many questions about the procedure for electing delegates to the all-union party conference. Comrade Degtyarev explained that the procedure will be as follows: Candidacies are nominated in the organizations, then they will be examined at the obkom, and the list will be made more precise, amended, and sent back to the organizations for final nomination. The following facts were heard in statements from the provinces: The editor of the Slantsevskiy Rayon newspaper said that the raykom had warned: We are recommended to nominate a mine worker and no one else as our delegate to the party conference."

N. Baklanov from Kiev: "As secretary of a primary party organization, I was invited to the Ukrainian Communist Party's Pecherskiy Raykom to discuss the nomination of candidates for the conference. I was struck by the fact that there was an unusually small number of us. It turned out that we had been previously split up into groups according to sector. We 'ideologues' were addressed by Raykom First Secretary A. Pilipenko. He said that, of the seven delegates from the rayon, two must be reserved for the republic's leadership. It was not specified for whom precisely.

"'We believe that comrades representing leading fields in our rayon must be elected to the party conference,' A. Pilipenko said. 'From industry, public education, and science. Women must probably be elected too...'

"We people from the primary organizations expressed doubt that ordinary Communists would support such a procedure. But after several reminders from the raykom secretary that 'no one among us has abolished democratic centralism,' the debate died down. Candidates continued to be nominated according to the sector principle and on the basis of sex."

So far, such reports are isolated and scattered. However, even if general schedules are not being handed down from above, this does not mean that they might not be drawn up locally, albeit with many "ifs," "maybes," and "probably's." This is why the references to the source of instructions are impersonal: "it is recommended," "it is deemed." Clearly, such impersonality could conceal a personal interest. "The second must be a woman," a responsible functionary recently reported, making it clear that the first "must" be himself.

Of course, things are only just beginning. But we must see to it that the old trend is not revived. It is dangerous. Its essence is that certain leaders on an oblast, rayon, and even lesser scale, despite all outward signs of following the spirit and letter of Central Committee decisions, have appropriated the right to arbitrarily interpret reports, speeches, and resolutions.

Let us recall enterprise economic accountability [khozraschet] and kolkhoz independence. The words have not yet died away and the newspaper ink is still fresh, but people are already being called to a conference at which, supposedly toeing the line, the rayon secretary dashingly refutes the general secretary. And those who object, who stubbornly believe in the meaning and force of the new, can be driven out and expelled.

The list of such examples would be a long one. Or would it? I reread once again: "No general schedules, as was the case in the past...." And I think that it is possible to break through to tomorrow from yesterday only from two directions, namely: from above—[as exemplified by] this quotation; and from below—[where] we [stand].

Media Meeting, Conference Preparations Described

PM1705102488 Milan L'UNITA in Italian
12 May 88 p 9

[Giulietto Chiesa article: "Gorbachev Wants Supporters of Restructuring as Delegates"]

[Text] Moscow—"We have realized that not everybody is prepared to assess the present situation correctly. We have detected a real confusion in many people—workers, intellectuals, and leaders. To be frank, this is true not only at the grass roots, but also at the top."

This is the key passage of the speech which Gorbachev made last Saturday to the leaders of the mass media and creative unions, and ideology chiefs, which PRAVDA did not publish until yesterday. There was a clash and it was fierce. Gorbachev clearly indicated the conclusion: "The Politburo decided that it must be the party general secretary who speaks on the ideological content of the second stage of restructuring." It is therefore Gorbachev, with the Politburo's mandate, who lays down the ideological line. And, to ensure that no doubt remains, Gorbachev added immediately: "I want to stress that everything which was said at the February plenum on the Politburo's behalf, and which obtained approval then, still retains its full value as a guideline."

The anti-restructuring platform published by SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA on 13 May was rejected. Preparations for the 19th party conference are continuing along the line chosen. Gorbachev also announced important innovations in this connection. The conference delegates must be chosen from among "committed supporters of restructuring." They will no longer be chosen according to the bureaucratic practice of "quotas" (specifying how many workers, young people, women, and so forth are elected). Candidates will have to be chosen with the participation of the grass-roots organizations and not only in the confines of the regional and republican plenums. How will this be done? Some obkoms, Gorbachev said with approval, have decided to publish the list of candidates before the decisive meetings at which the vote will be held. "We think this is very correct." This does not mean that it will be implemented everywhere. The reformers have not been able to obtain more than this.

This means that there will be a fierce battle throughout the preparatory phase and during the election of delegates. This battle will reveal the real balance of forces within the party. The debate published by PRAVDA (Gorbachev had opened the meeting by merely calling on those present to speak) demonstrates that opinions differ greatly. There is a deep and clear gulf between the speeches made by IZVESTIYA editor Laptev and PRAVDA editor Afanasyev. It seems likely that the disagreements on the fringes are no less deep. Gorbachev makes no secret of this and is holding out his hand to win back and reestablish the broadest possible line-up. "I will not immediately classify all those who have panicked as irresponsible or opposed to restructuring." The conservatives "must be defeated on the path of restructuring," but there are many others who cannot be called "enemies." We knew, the Soviet leader continued, that "we ought to have expected tensions and that a new situation would arise" for which "many people would not be ready." But, we must not forget that "we are all the children of our time" and that many people do not yet know what to do and how to do it. And many others, though not breaking the law, "are affected by the climate of stagnation." Changing 66 percent of ministers and 61 percent of regional first secretaries have still not provided the human resources necessary for restructuring.

What kind of conference should the party conference be? Gorbachev's statements reveal that, in practice, it will be comparable to an extraordinary congress. The aim is to move boldly "through democratization toward a new look for socialism." The aim is to move toward a "socialist state based on law." This involves, Gorbachev stressed, following another line of compromise, the reexamination of many crucial questions. "We are not abandoning" the party's leadership role. But, at the same time, "the problem of dividing tasks between the party, the soviet, and the economic management organs must be tackled." The party's "vanguard political role" is increasing, but we must reexamine "the structure of the apparatus" and understand why, with the excess of roles the party has assumed, its political role has been "weakened." "The conference's task of drawing up a legal and legislative reform" is no less crucial because it will give substance to the democratic change and make it irreversible. In other words, the conference should serve to "define the criteria: what is really socialism and what is contrary to the very idea of socialism." This is an enormous task which can only be accomplished "by ridding ourselves once and for all of the idea that socialism is a leveling force which denies the individual's personality and which sets the individual at a minimum level: a minimum of material wealth, a minimum of justice, a minimum of democracy." Gorbachev is forging ahead and placing all his cards on the table. He has won a decisive round. The game will be over by the end of June. But there is no doubt that his opponents are hoping for revenge.

Letter Voices Hopes for Party Conference

PM1705085188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
11 May 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Letter from Valeriy Yelkin under the "From the Editorial Mailbag" rubric: "I Want To Help My Party; Notes of a Rank-and-File Communist in the Margin of the CPSU Central Committee General Secretary's Speech"—boldface as published]

[Text] Tallinn—It has long been known that the soldier from the trench and the marshal from the headquarters see and assess combat operations in different ways, just

as it is well known that this difference in views does not prevent them from accomplishing a common deed—after all, they both have one fatherland behind them....

What can I, a rank-and-file member of my party, see from the "trench" to which it has assigned me at the present stage of the struggle for its program goals?

I read and reread many times M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the recent CPSU Central Committee plenum which unfolds the long-term view of this struggle and I note for myself that from "headquarters" what can be seen as a whole is the same as what can be seen from my position, only, naturally, it is on completely different scales and has a completely different depth, volume, and intricacies of cause and effect. I catch myself thinking that the mention of waiting for a miracle also applies to me.... Indeed, the fresh April winds three years ago aroused such bright hopes, it was as though the new party leader were hiding a magic wand somewhere and only had to wave it for everything in our country to change and be restructured instantly. There are no miracles....

But three years are still a certain amount of time. And doubts are stirring in my soul again. After all, how many times we have been deceived in our hopes. And, poring over the speech, I try to seek honest and direct answers to the innermost questions which give my soul no rest. And I find them! Here it is, that main bulwark for my soul, tired of floundering in the vortex of hopes and doubts: **"Restructuring means work, work, and yet more work. Persistent, courageous, daily work. Realizing this, becoming imbued with responsibility for the success of restructuring, means taking a step forward in spiritual development too."** Yes, that is the only way. A marshal, be he a Solomon, cannot win a war unless his fighters charge into the attack....

Oh, if only past disappointment had not wounded my soul, how it would open up now to meet these appeals. But let's just remember the inner dejection our generation has experienced: At the age of 13 we found out what Stalin had been, at 24 we found out about Khrushchev, at 42 about Brezhnev, and at 45 about Chernenko.... Try gearing yourself immediately to the wave of restructuring!

A soldier will fulfill an order. Only in the attack it is very important for the soldier to know that the correct path has now been found to victory. Before battle the soldier is acutely in need of the belief that if he dies then it is for a just cause and if he remains alive he will not be ashamed to look his children in the eye. How is he to reinforce this belief in himself?

I pore over the speech again and again....

Yes, and, incidentally, has the time come to discuss high-ranking speeches? Is this "zone" also open to honest and public [glasnyy] analysis? Or, as before, is it only ardent, undivided, complete, humble approval which is permitted? Since when could you criticize me, he will say, you should know your place. After all, the speech has already been approved by the plenum and has become a guideline for action.

But perhaps the time has come to publish the theses of program speeches in advance for all-party and nationwide discussion before approval by plenums and congresses. I think that if the democratization of party life is not a slogan, then it is time to return to party members, not in words but in deeds, the trust in their experience and knowledge, to stop seeing us as martinets frenziedly clicking our heels in response to any orders from the party bosses as though aware party discipline is only maintained thus.

I recently read the following words in a republican newspaper: "...passiveness of rank-and-file members of society is counterrevolutionary..." and it set me thinking. "Revolutionary" restructuring, "counterrevolutionary" passiveness...is this not the old habit of using specious phrases? Of sticking labels?

Let's get down to it: What is so revolutionary that has been accomplished in the past 3 years? It has become easier to breathe. We treat each other differently and the world seems to have started to treat us differently. Belief in justice is gradually being reborn. All kinds of riff-raff have become quiet. But the main thing, the main thing—where is the certainty that they will not apply the brakes tomorrow? If it is a revolution, it should be irreversible.

People reply: glasnost...democratization...look, they say, we are seeing the criticism of Stalin through to the end and other former leaders will enter the court of history, the court of our unforgiving memory. I agree: This must be done! But who today can fail to understand that for what they eventually became they were indebted primarily to the pernicious, completely played out bureaucracy which has nothing in common with Soviet power as Lenin conceived it. But why, alongside this vigorous and sparkling criticism of yesterday and the day before yesterday, do I not see a modern mechanism for breaking down this system, the mechanism of genuine democracy? This new mechanism, with the inevitability of a magnetic fuse, should work on the slightest currents of bureaucracy, excessive administration, phrase-mongering, voluntarism, stagnation, corruption, and so forth. Surely criticism of the past would not lose from this?

I read the speech again and I find: **"...the main problem of the development of our political system is the creation of a mechanism of power and management in which an effective democratic control would be precisely tuned and appropriate legal procedures would be elaborated which would seriously reduce and even eliminate the fortuitous element in resolving the most important political and state questions and would rule out the possibility of subjectivism on all 'floors' of our political system...."**

I sign these words with both hands, I rejoice that they were heard at all from such a lofty platform. But all this must be done! Done as soon as possible. Some three years have elapsed. Above all we must go to the conference with this. Or is it to someone's advantage that the conference should merely note the need to create such a mechanism, but to what extent it will be created God alone knows? Why did the plenum not submit for nationwide or at least all-party discussion a plan for restructuring the political system, if such a plan exists? After all, today this is the crucial question. And for me, a rank-and-file party member, above all.

I look at my party card.... Honor and conscience.... We speak of mind and honor and conscience yet bureaucrats, spongers, and those seeking high rank and the award of orders have rushed increasingly vigorously to join the workers' party. Surely it is no great secret that until recently some workers had to be dragged into the party with a lasso? And however we tried to whitewash this aspect by counting salesmen and others as proletarians, we still did not get the "requisite percentage."

This is where the roots of the masses' "passiveness" lie. This is where the sources of the unique "revolutionary situation" lie, the situation in which the "upper echelons" have indeed exhausted their style of leadership while the "grassroots" are even not averse to everything remaining the same. Surely it's no bad thing to work any old how but to receive the same salary as everyone, to live like a professor without having the gray matter, indeed never mind a professor, what about Uncle Vasya the plumber! Or Aunt Masha the saleswoman! That's the life! And suddenly restructuring—why? Why do they need restructuring?

I pore over the speech again and again and...I do not find the usual thesis about "the steady growth of the party's leading role in communist building." I do not think it is an accident that it is not there. Indeed, how today can we correctly and convincingly prove that the party's role during the years of stagnation "steadily" grew by comparison with, for instance, 1917 or 1941? Well, who doesn't know that it was not the role of the party but the role of the party apparatus which "grew?" The apparatus acted in the party's name and usurped its elected organs. And that was not all. It supplanted both soviet and economic organs.... From my trench I can see just one role for the party for all time, the role of vanguard: Be the first to hurl yourself on the barbed wire, those behind you will take the next step—and so on, to victory. That is history.

But no, timeservers would spit on the court of history, and today they have to divide a formation, destined to live for centuries, into little stages in order to prove that this apparatus' stage is the most important, that its services, as Vysotskiy used to sing, "are a hard burden for four men," and that even five Hero's stars are no reward for them.

So we win either "in full" or "definitively," we declare socialism to be "developed" or state shamefacedly that we are at the very start of this long stage.... And all this has been made out to be the "creative development" of Marxism-Leninism. But perhaps there has been enough of this "developing?" Perhaps we should not play with words but simply think about the ideas bequeathed to us by the great teachers and determine how we understand these ideas, should we not?

I am sure that if we had understood these ideas we would not have presented Stalin and the others to history. Who has seriously studied this problem? Can the scientific world not see what an uncultivated field awaits its zealous plowman? Or does science mean rehashing a leading article in a party newspaper in various ways and shuffling well-known quotations from the classic writers from left to right and then from right to left? Or can science remain party science only for just as long as the proletariat has nothing to lose but its chains? Why are scientific truths ultimately uttered not from an academic platform but a party one? Marx and Lenin (until 1917) had no such platform but that did not prevent them from creating their own—and our—powerful teaching. The people, the party, and the cause of communism need genuine science, directed to the future and not to the service of a lofty platform. Such a science can exist only if there is guaranteed immunity for the genuine scientist and Communist. Criticism—yes! But criticism without shouting, without the argument of the fist, without petty feuding in promotion, in the printing of works, in the distribution of loans for research, and so forth. Without, finally, destroying the criticized person as an individual. Let the truth be born as it should be born, in debate, in the pluralism of opinion.

I pore over the speech again and again. Questions crowd in on me. And I finally ask myself in amazement: Surely these questions themselves could not have appeared 3-5 years ago? Obviously I took up my pen because I felt for the first time that this was something which also affected me and that my voice would be heard. I am sure that I am not the only one to think this way. Over the year the Central Committee alone has received up to 1 million letters—and they were not all about the shortage of housing or sausage.... Was it not these healthy forces of the party—they have existed, do exist, and always will exist—which inspired our general secretary to say at the plenum that **"he (man—V.Ye.) lives most of all by truth and conscience, justice and freedom, morality and humanism?"**

Nor can I rid myself of a feeling of guilt. In 20 years in the party I have seen it all happening and have kept silent. Of course, I reckoned that the weakest go to the wall, and what if I did speak, if I said what I thought and what I knew others thought? And what then? After all, nothing would change even so. But in my declining years it is increasingly hard to avoid the question—what have I lived for? It is increasingly hard to force myself not to emerge from the trench because, after all, you are not

indifferent to how you leave the world behind you and how your children and grandchildren will remember you. So I decided to emerge. I can see a pile of junk and garbage and I very much want to help to clear it from your path.

For a rank-and-file party member democracy begins and ends in the primary party organization. No, under the Statutes I can of course take any question right up to the Central Committee and have even done so once, but I did not receive an answer, but that is not what I am talking about. How can a rank-and-file party member, and 1 million rank-and-file units are a party, how can each party member, not on paper but in reality, actually influence the party's business and struggle against the appearance of new Stalins and Brezhnevs and their entourage in the leadership? Struggle using democratic, strictly party methods, without running the risk of finding himself outside the party? In my opinion, there is as yet no way he can!

That is why I want the all-union party conference to become a turning point in the history of the party and the Soviet state, to discuss and adopt a specific plan for restructuring the party and the country, and not to get away with more declarations and good intentions to the accompaniment of tumultuous applause. For this it is essential to have real glasnost on the eve of the conference and an all-party and nationwide discussion of the drafts of specific documents.

I do not want any fine counterfeits. I want one thing—that everything should be for real this time. I want to believe that truthful words will finally cease to be a right on paper and become a civic and party duty. That I, one of 20 million rank-and-file party members, should finally feel that I am an individual on whom something in this world depends. Yes, I may be a rank-and-file member and I may be in a trench but it is not a trench where people are hiding like cowards from the bullets and gunfire, it is a trench on the front line. And victory also depends on me.

I am in favor of the party never having to blush when it looks into the eyes of future generations as I blush now when I look into the questioning eyes of my children who grew up during the years of "stagnation": "But where were you, a Communist, for all those years? What have you taught us?..." And I taught them to grow up, to learn to be useful to their country, to be glad that they had been lucky to be born in such a beautiful land, in such a remarkable society. So may they never see puzzlement and confusion on the faces of their own children.

For this it is worth telling the truth, however bitter it may seem to anyone at the apex of power. After all, leaders come and go but they—the future of the people—will remain. The three years of restructuring have above all taught us that however much you muffle, distort, or mock the truth, it will still blaze a trail. And it will win. It is for the sake of truth that I am writing these notes to you in the margin of a speech which inspires me and which indeed has prompted me to this action.

[signed] Valeriy Yelkin.

A brief note about myself: I was born in 1940 and I am a Russian. In 1963 I graduated from the physics faculty of Saratov State University as a radiophysicist and was immediately drafted into regular service in the Navy and after retraining was sent to the Pacific Fleet in Sovetskaya Gavan. It was there that I became a party member in 1968. I took examinations as an external student and graduated from the Kiev political school. I ended my service in the Northern Fleet with the rank of captain second rank. I am now a military pensioner and work as senior engineer at the Estonian SSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education. I am married with two children.

Ulyanovsk Obkom Chief Restructures Party Work

WA18000321 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Apr 88 p 2

[Interview with Yu. Samsonov, first secretary of the Ulyanovsk party obkom, by special PRAVDA correspondents N. Senchev and V. Khatuntsev in Ulyanovsk, under the rubric "Thoughts Before the Party Conference:" "The Living Voice of Democracy"; date not given—boldface as published]

[Text] **On the very eve of our meeting and talk with Yu. Samsonov, first secretary, Ulyanovsk party obkom, we were made aware of the following detail. You will recall that an example was cited in M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum: Some party organs have become so enamored of selective meetings that they hold as many as 40 of them in a single month. As it turned out, this "some" applied part and parcel to Ulyanovsk Oblast. And at a recent plenum of the party obkom there was explicit discussion of the tenacity of this faulty style.**

"We really did go too far," Yuriy Grigoryevich said at the beginning of our dialogue. "It is not easy to overcome the commanding, administrative style of leadership acquired over decades. It requires an abrupt psychological break and, frequently, a struggle with oneself. We were strongly gripped by the fear of losing control of the situation. We were used to giving orders on behalf of the agroprom people as well as on the behalf of other local soviet and economic organs. We are doing our utmost to rid ourselves of this habit."

[Question] **Self-criticism, open criticism, and above all the ability to benefit from critical remarks and proposals—such is the life-giving condition of intraparty democracy. Such receptiveness sooner or later develops immunity against the viruses of infallibility, self-admiration,**

authoritarianism, and other antipodes of democratism. What do you think: is the obkom and are you, personally, as its first secretary, open to the fresh winds of criticism?

[Answer] At any rate, we are not putting up protective barriers against criticism. I consider entirely reasonable reproaches addressed to me personally at the obkom plenum that I do not work sufficiently with raykom secretaries, especially the beginners. I can cite examples when other secretaries of the oblast committee and members of the bureau have been justifiably criticized. Nor was the criticism for the sake of criticism or for the sake of observing today's rules of "propriety."

But we must also attain such equality in the work load, in the burden that we carry. This is what we discovered as a result of a frank exchange of opinions: many members of elected party organs are not satisfied with their participation in perestroyka. They are listed as having been elected but they have no real work load. We must now get away from formalism and fill the status of a member of a party organ with nothing but real work and real assignments. We have begun offering instruction to obkom party members in sections in which both executives and rank and file workers learn in a practical way from the best experience what to undertake first and how to do it!

We attach great importance to political and economic education. Nor do I conceal the fact that we also concern ourselves with raising the level of political sophistication of our elected ones. You can be a notable, front-rank worker and yet limit your outlook to the machine you operate. Is this not the source of a kind of resignation complex: you are the leader, you have all the experience and education; you make the decisions and we'll do the voting?

This is what I say: The face of the obkom or raykom must be determined by outstanding people. By people actively engaging in public life. The ones with authority are people like Nikolay Yuryevich Dodovov of the "Krasnoyarskiy" Sovkhoz. Working as the leader of a tractor brigade, he made his collective one of the best in the oblast. But he has won the respect of his fellow villagers and the inhabitants of the rayon not just because of his successes on the job. He is a person of principle who is naturally quick on the uptake which is the mark of a real leader, who has a head on his shoulders, who is reasonable, who is not indifferent to public affairs, and who has a developed sense of personal worth. You almost feel like saluting such a person. He has an opinion on every issue. It was not by chance that when the question of a new party committee secretary arose, the sovkhoz Communists and working people were unanimous: Nikolay Yuryevich was specifically the one who should lead them. I add that as a member of the Cherdaklinskiy party raykom, he is in the public eye, he is truly among his equals, and he takes an active part in the solution of problems.

[Question] **Such equality is usually seen during a plenum or conference. Are you able to get away from overorganization, from prearranged scenarios, from unanimity for show that is best expressed in the phrase "there is my opinion and the wrong opinion?"**

[Answer] As regards regulations, we have no system for restricting or filtering our speakers. Our plenums, aktivs and party meetings have become less and less stereotyped. Now you do not get bored during the discussions because everyone goes up to the rostrum with his own brainchild, sometimes with debatable judgments and with a militant, critical mood. You spoke about unanimity for show. In my view, the essence of democratization is to reject everything that is done for show, everything that is deliberate, everything that is smoothed over in favor of candor, however better, and the whole truth. The search for the truth will lead to the goal when the atmosphere is created for the polyphony of opinions, for the collective exchange of ideas. Sittings of the bureau and plenums of the obkom truly become a collective council when there is not only my opinion but the opinion of my comrades as well.

[Question] **Can you recall any opinions expressed at the last obkom plenum that cut you to the quick, that imprinted themselves on your soul?**

[Answer] There were many such opinions. What do you think of the remark by V. Pisarchuk, deputy chairman of the Dimitrovgradskiy Gorispolkom, who said from the podium that the apparatus often arrogates the functions of an elected body, that there is danger in concentrating power exclusively in the hands of the apparatus, and that it is just one step from here to the voluntarism and subjectivism of individual leaders?

[Question] **Yours is not the only oblast in which this is being discussed.**

[Answer] This is all the more an indication that this is an important problem that merits the attention of the 19th party conference. Of course, our obkom is more than a building and staff in Lenin Square. I have already spoken about the task of securing the most active involvement of all members of elected organs in public work, of the need for closer scrutiny of the personal and political qualities of candidates. That comes first.

Second, we must truly restructure the work of the apparatus. The time has come to get ride of the guardianship of party organizations and outmoded methods. A typical example: the Maynskiy party raykom was notified of the scheduled arrival of a brigade that was to draft the raykom's report for the bureau of the party obkom. What was the reaction? People said: You'll knock us out of rhythm for a month with your checks. The checks organized by the apparatus staff were of no benefit. The approach must be changed in some way so that people would feel satisfaction rather than apprehension.

Another question: Why do some first secretaries of party raykoms take all decision-making on themselves, thereby becoming "rayon directors?" There are those who lack sophistication in democratism and there are those who cling to the old ways, who are accustomed to dictating and ordering people about.

The Terengulskiy party raykom decided to hold the election of a farm director. Someone was selected from the rayon center and his candidacy was even approved by the bureau. When he was brought out for the people to judge, it turned out that the collective was opposed to replacing its leader. Through the confusion it was necessary to agree with the opinion of the meeting and to learn a lesson for the future: The apparatus cannot get away with its plans for promoting cadres any longer. Why? Because they are undemocratic and divorced from public opinion.

Thus the debugging of the mechanism governing the activity of elected organs is a lesson in practical democracy. It is a difficult lesson that is learned through search and errors. The main thing is not to allow those on top to dole out permissions and prohibitions—this is permitted, this is not, but rather to nurture from below the creative energy of work collectives and to encourage the entire diversity of the creative potential of the masses. This is an important question for discussion at the all-union party conference.

[Question] **Do you visit work collectives frequently?**

[Answer] The plan is to spend at least one entire day a week visiting farms, enterprises and institutions. No less and preferably more.

[Question] **One oblast leader told me with a large share of humor about a recent visit to a kolkhoz. He donned a sheepskin coat and went out on the farm without first checking in at the office. He saw milkmaids scrubbing the poor cows for dear life. There was an incredible din. It turned out they were preparing for the arrival of the very same leader. The temptation to put on a show is strong!**

[Answer] And its advocates do so in vain: No manner of showmanship can cover up disorder. If you talk to the people they will tell you everything unreservedly.

I recently visited the Sovkhoz imeni Gay with a group of comrades. I liked much of what I saw. The animal husbandrymen were working diligently. We struck up a conversation with the milkmaids about personal households and found that there were few people keeping livestock even though many wanted to. No pasture land was allotted nor were they helped with feed. The people were giving their all to the farm but the concern for them was meager. The village soviet and the primary party organization should have helped the people and should have called the attention of the economic managers to the situation. Otherwise in some places democratism will be understood only as the right to "advise" the manager in a low voice from time to time. What kind of proprietor is this? But it is specifically in the primary link, in the work collectives that all democratic norms are tested.

[Question] **The point is obviously to promote the strengthening of these norms. It was said at the February plenum of the Central Committee that the party is called upon to set the democratic example. Who if not the primary party organization should be the first to set this example? Take the work with cadres—has the influence of the primary party organizations grown?**

[Answer] Judge for yourselves: This is a kind of second step after the widely conducted election stage. Experience has shown that those scheduled for promotion must prepare to take the next step up the ladder. They must make these preparations in public view as if gathering votes a year or two in advance. Eloquence will be to no avail here. The need is for real actions. It is important that they indicate where they stand. Thus the reserve is trained and "run in" with the aid of the primary party organizations.

At the "Khimmash" plant in Dimitrovgrad, for example, they took the following path: The reserve for director consists of three persons. Let there be competition and let the strongest person in the elections win. This is the right way.

[Question] **But will the authority of the party organization not suffer if its candidate is defeated?**

[Answer] This question arose after the first elections of leaders. First, how many candidates is the party organization allowed to nominate? If it is allowed to nominate all of them, this would not appear to accord with democratism. It it is allowed to nominate one, what will it be like in the event he is defeated? Second, is it necessarily obligatory that the Communists nominate a representative in all cases?

I think that there must first of all be flexibility and a precise orientation toward the opinion of the work collective. There must be no foisting of one's own special opinion.

[Question] **But sometimes the majority may not be in the right....**

[Answer] Then one has to find the strength to persuade convincingly and within the framework of free polemics. It unquestionably happens that even the majority will be wrong, but nevertheless the collective usually has an entirely mature understanding of the real state of affairs and will not play it safe. Ultimately, for the sake of what are we affirming democratic norms? What kind of example do we expect of the party organizations? Everything is done for the sake of liberating the initiative and creativity of people. The first word here and the real effort belongs to the Communists.

[Question] Are the residents of the oblast—Lenin's birthplace—feeling the changes brought about by perestroyka?

[Answer] I think that they are. We are successfully implementing integrated programs in the key directions and "Housing-90" is no exception. Last year, builders surpassed all plans, including plans for commissioning hospitals, kindergartens, schools and clubs. Most importantly, the initiative is yielding a return. Two hundred thousand square meters of housing have been built by the direct labor method.

However, I must candidly admit that there are more unresolved problems than I would like, than there should be. It is lamentable, for example, that there are interruptions in trade in certain household products: Sometimes the suppliers have not delivered washing powder and other things have also disappeared from the counter. This is how dissatisfaction is generated and complaints multiply.

[Question] We have noticed that the number of complaints from the oblast to central authorities, to the contrary, has dropped. How do you explain this, Yuriy Grigoryevich?

[Answer] We will consider that our work here as well is producing its results. After all, gatherings of citizens are constantly held. Last year alone, there were more than 3500 proposals from these gatherings. Many questions are decided on the spot. Conflicts are promptly resolved through the adoption of specific measures. Here, too, democratic habits are absolutely essential. Open letter days are held everywhere. Our press, radio and television have begun speaking more openly about painful issues.

The mail shows that people now have more confidence in the local organs of power. There are more and more letters of a sociopolitical nature and this is also an indicator of the growth of civil activism.

People take their example—the example of democratism—from Communists, from party leaders.

Worker Wants End to 'Dictatorship of Party'

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[Text] [Announcer] There are many arguments in work collectives about whom to nominate as delegate to the 19th party conference. It would seem to be a straightforward decision: Of course, thinking, searching people who are active supporters of perestroyka. But, apparently, not everything is that simple. (Larisa Ulyanenko), our correspondent, talked to Stanislav Petrovich Golubev, shift-leader at the open-hearth furnace workshop at the Volgograd Krasnyy Oktyabr metallurgical works.

[Begin recording] [Golubev] At last, Soviet people have been given the opportunity to become an independent and free society. We have been given the opportunity to renounce spiritual slavery. This is one of the greatest gains of the Soviet people.

[(Ulyanenko)] Where do you see the brakes on perestroyka?

[Golubev] Much is now being said about those 18 million-odd bureaucrats. I do not support blaming everything on them. If one is talking of brakes on perestroyka, then we are all slowing it down by virtue of our professional, perhaps, unsuitableness, or incompetence, by our lack of courage to take on a view and express it. How hard that is, even at a party meeting. Views are expressed, sometimes even too boldly. Then, I say to them: Comrades, there's a party meeting in a week's time; we can't decide anything here, come and express your views. They come, and say nothing. Therefore, the brake on perestroyka sits in every one of us. Well, as for economic brakes, then here too all of us are to blame, from the top echelons to the bottom.

[(Ulyanenko)] In your view, which question that worries you personally, perhaps, and your work colleagues, ought to be brought to the platform of the 19th party conference?

[Golubev] Well, as a matter of fact, I expressed my proposal at a party meeting—that the party dictatorship should be renounced at the 19th party conference. Those sitting in front even said: Why, this is Trotskyism. I remain most deeply convinced that we must renounce the dictatorship of the party. First of all, dictatorship of itself is simply not inherent in socialism. We had dictatorship, the dictatorship of the proletariat, but after all, the fact is that the dictatorship of the proletariat was then very cunningly and cleverly transformed into the dictatorship of the party, or rather dictatorship of one man, Stalin. I am against dictatorship. I am for the collective decision.

I remain most deeply convinced that the first paragraph of the regulations [not specified], naturally, remains as before. The party is above all a vanguard; it is the leading and directing force of our society. The party should engage in its own work, that of directing. There are soviets. That is where our power lies. As for economics, this must be done by professionals. Everyone should be engaged in his own work. We have nothing to fear now. We are so strong. It is no coincidence that Gorbachev is now placing his hope on talented and intelligent people. From Moscow, from the Kremlin, they cannot be seen. This is perfectly natural; therefore, naturally, hope is being placed on Leninist socialism, Leninist democracy, and on these people being put forward. But no, at local level, people are afraid. And yet, it hardly needs to be said that we have, Lord knows, how many. After all, this is such a rich country, and its richness is not in oil, gas,

and forests. All our richness lies in people. And of course, they should occupy their place. This will be a colossal hope for our entire society. [end recording]

[Announcer] What an interesting interview. Well, comrades, you know that the election of delegates to the 19th all-union party conference has begun. In Kalinin, for example, 44 delegates have been elected. What is more, their nomination was preliminarily discussed by primary party organizations and in work collectives, and the conference, which opens in Moscow at the end of June, will sum up the first results of the restructuring taking place in the country, and will determine the future path of the revolutionary renewal of our society. What is more, you have heard about the keen discussion of the problems of perestroyka that is underway on radio, television, and in the press, and how highly different and, at times, diametrically opposed, viewpoints are being revealed on economic reform and on the paths toward the democratization of society. I think that the forthcoming conference will clearly define the political line on these issues that are of such great importance to our country.

Readers Discuss Glasnost, Party Conference

PM1405190588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 May 88 Morning Edition p 3

["Reading the Mail" article by Yuriy Orlik, IZVESTIYA letters editor: "Opinion Against Circular"]

[Text] The concept of socialist pluralism is establishing itself in political life, albeit not without difficulty. For a long time the very term (from the Latin pluralis—many) was paricularly abusive, and was applied only to bourgeois reality. I leave that to our social sciences to mull over.

The main thing is that we have now recognized that a multiplicity, a diversity of forms of political, economic, and spiritual life is not only not contraindicated, but is a condition for releasing the potential of socialism.

The simplest form of pluralism is the existence of different opinions, views, and attitudes. "Mindless unanimity" (I. Voronkov, Igarka) is now frowned on by the majority. "On behalf of...I propose...no one against, no abstentions...adopted unanimously. This is the cause of our political dramas," CPSU member V. Sergeyev writes from Voronezh. But bitter past experience and fear of free thinking is not like dust you can brush off your feet. "Entirely new thinking is now required of all members of society," A. Esipov of Uchaly, Bashkir ASSR, writes, "but many people are sticking to the old ideas out of habit. I do not condemn them. For many years we have been unaccustomed to thinking, unaccustomed to perceiving reality in an unusual and critical way."

Construction engineer V. Vilin of Sochi sees the growth of civic self-awareness as the main asset of the post-April period. "People are conscious of themselves as individuals and of the people as a free society. They cannot again be made to believe that everything that is decided above is the ultimate truth and is not for discussion. It is for discussion!"

The writers of many letters say that for a long time we have had a primitively simplistic idea of society and the laws of its development. "A binary computation system" is what S. Metalnikov of Samarkand ironically called the approach: "Basis/superstructure, production forces/production relations, leaders and cogs." We reject this view today.

Society has presented us with a very complex structure with different classes, social strata, and social groups. With interests that sometimes do not only fail to coincide, but are opposite. Bureaucracy, soldiers' widows, believers, informal groups, drug addicts, low-paid workers, invalids—I am deliberately not sticking to one criterion in singling out these groups. The art of management and leadership consists in, among other things, harmonizing these disparate interests, in determining priorities. And we have also discovered, alas, in dramatic circumstances, how important it is in politics to bear in mind that each people and each ethnic gropup has not only its own language, but its own traditions, customs, and lifestyle, that national-territorial boundaries are not conventional marks on a map. Indeed, in purely geographical terms our country is so big that this very fact rules out the possibility of applying the same yardstick to different regions. We cannot do it. If we adopt an instruction circular it has to operate from Moscow to the outermost regions.

But there have been small advances. Let us look at the economy. As far as we were aware (and in reality too) there existed two basic forms in which economic activity was organized—the state enterprise and the kolkhoz. They corresponded to the two forms of ownership enshrined in the constitution. We were taught that there could be no third form. But then there appeared the family lease contract. Various types of cooperative and individual labor activity are coming in, and the first joint-stock companies and mixed-capital enterprises are being set up—a multiplicity of management forms is becoming, not without resistance, a reality.

One distinctive feature of the new thinking is the conviction that socialism does not exist without democracy and politics without morality. Many letters address the distant and more recent past, attempt to understand how they came to part company, and suggest—a whole variety of suggestions—how to insure our society for good against the possibility of the restoration of the past.

"Our country has too little experience of democratic development," S. Verchenko from Nizhniy Tagil muses. "Bourgeois parliamentarianism is practically unknown

to us. From the spontaneous rallies of the revolutionary period the young republic entered the time of war communism. The breathing space afforded by NEP was brief. It was soon followed by the start of the construction of the great pyramid of the command-and-administer system. A pyramid of authoritarianism. One opinion, obligatory for all. It has to be destroyed. And it is a case where it is just as difficult to destroy as to build."

"One question bothers me," Ye. Savitskaya writes from Minsk. "People were unable to do anything about the cult of Stalin during his lifetime. Fear kept their mouths shut: People were being imprisoned and shot everywhere. But why did they bow and scrape to Brezhnev when the country was headed for a crisis? The members of the Politburo and the members of the Central Committee could see it all. But...they remained silent. True, there are few of them left in the leadership now. But it is horrifying to think that if Brezhnev were at the head of the leadership today the stagnation period, as it is called, would continue. Is fear for one's status and career stronger, then, than party conscience and honor?... Remember how it was under Lenin. Everyone would defend his own view on a particular issue, without fear that he would fall into disfavor."

In their letters readers touch on fundamental issues of social and political life. In particular, they write about interaction between the party and society, about the way the CPSU's leading role should manifest itself during the current period of revolutionary transformations. There are an enormous number of letters connected with the urgent demand to establish a clear "division of labor" between party, soviet, and economic bodies. To eliminate duplication and diktat, the system whereby the party committee has all the power. "Today's realities," A. Neklyudov, a surgeon from Zaporozhye, writes in this connection, "contradict yesterday's political forms and structures. A situation where the party committee usurps the functions of all other management bodies and tramples on them is a burden not only to society, but to the party itself: Now it is responsible for everything and it is blamed for mistakes it has not made." "The party must constantly demonstrate that it has the right to its leading role in the struggle for the people's hearts and minds, but not by imposing its will on other public organizations," Donetsk teacher B. Yelanskiy believes. "A power monopoly leads to very serious, even critical diseases for society—haven't we learned anything from history?" Candidate of Technical Sciences V. Pelipeyko, a Lenin Prize Winner from Riga, develops the idea. "For the party to switch from giving orders to influencing people, that is, actively influencing through conviction, will be an enormously brave thing to do," V. Kotov writes from Surgut. "Therefore, the force of resistance to this step will be considerable."

Readers are convinced that "trade unions, the Komsomol, creative unions, and other public organizations must acquire autonomy and independence and obtain corresponding powers—not paper but constitutional powers"—in the interests of society and of the party itself (A. Berzin, Klaypeda). "Party bodies must be incorporated in the general structure of management and not stand above it," L. Khityayeva of Smolensk notes.

Many of the letters I have cited are addressed to the 19th party conference. "We are talking about glasnost, democracy, and criticism," V. Novoselov of Michurinsk writes. "But, unfortunately, as before, the top people, from rayon level to the central bodies, remain untouched by criticism from below. Have you seen an oblast paper criticize a CPSU obkom and its first secretary?..." "There is no place in the party for the 'most serene' and the 'most august.' The concept of party comradeship must be well and truly revived"—these are lines from a letter written by Shabrinovskiy of Ufa.

Readers are particularly interested in the principles for the election of delegates to the conference, suggesting—in view of the enormous importance of the event—that the traditional approach be abandoned. "If any zealous advocates of the old regime, apologists of stagnation, make it to the 19th party conference, today's standard-bearers of democracy will pay for it," Tashkent engineer R. Kaminskiy believes, and he suggests "publishing lists of well-known people who were not frightened, even in the stagnation years, of expressing their attitude toward events," and it is from them, the flower of the nation, that the conference delegates should be elected. "Ordinary Communists, not party functionaries, should constitute the core of the delegates," I. Ladyzhenskiy of Odessa believes. "I unconditionally support the proposal on direct television and radio transmission of all the conference work so that the people—masters of the country—know who is who," M. Roginskiy writes from Kiev. "I believe that when electing delegates to the conference worker collectives should give them clear orders that the emissaries in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses should not sit there like movie extras, but should express the will of the Communists who sent them, so that the people can be confident that the fate of the country and of restructuring at the conference is in safe hands."

This is indeed very important. For each one of us in that complex community—the people.

Uzbek Party Chief Nishanov Interviewed

WA18000318 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Apr 88 p 2

[Interview with R.N. Nishanov, first secretary of the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee, by G. Dimov and G. Melikyan, under the rubric "19th Party Conference:" "Nishanov Discusses Economy, Return to Normalcy in UzSSR"; date and place not given—boldface as published]

[Text] [Question] **Rafik Nishanovich, there is general, heightened interest in Uzbekistan. It has been spoken about at the 27th Congress and a number of plenums of**

the party Central Committee. It is currently being written about in newspapers and magazines. After working overseas 15 years as an ambassador of the Soviet Union, you returned to the republic where you served as a minister and have been chairman of the Presidium of the UzSSR Supreme Soviet for more than a year. You were elected to your current post only 4 months ago and so you have a fresh look at the situation and the process of normalization in the republic.

[Answer] Now, before the 19th party conference, a worker of any rank or in any post, whether he is a newcomer or, more importantly, is not a newcomer, must have a fresh approach to everything. Therein lies the logic of the new style of thinking. I will say without diplomacy that the recent, scandalously sensational newspaper publication to which PRAVDA made a proper reply was an attempt to revive views that are out of date.

On the other hand, who in our republic is pleased by the present position of the clairvoyant newcomer? To me this is simply illogical. I grew up in this party organization. What is painful to the republic is also painful to me. Even the short time I have worked in the government and in the Bureau of the Central Committee makes me a direct participant in the republic's successes and failures—there were also some of them—during that time. The main question confronting Communists and all the people of Uzbekistan is how to correct the situation along the lines of general perestroyka. There have been many promises. The need is for tangible action.

As regards fresh impressions and the most important thing—the mood of the people, you have already guessed what I am going to be referring to. After meeting with Afghanistan president Najibullah in Tashkent, M.S. Gorbachev spent two days in Uzbekistan talking with the republic's working people and leaders. The strongest impression created by the people, he emphasized, was their activeness, their openness, their desire to discuss serious issues.

[Question] We have seen the local Central Statistical Administration's summary for last year and the first quarter of this year. While the republic has unquestionably made progress in many spheres, on the whole the republic's growth rates are still at the level of the early eighties. The normalization process is occurring but as someone poignantly stated recently: all that has been done is what absolutely had to be done.

[Answer] Take note of the advice that is being drummed into the Uzbekistan aktiv: "think, think, think!" It is especially important that the party organization clearly understand what has taken place, but it is no less important to conceive and to provide the people with a precise plan of action in the name of the modernization we are all looking forward to. Why has less been done than could have been done? The roots here run deep: for a good 10 five-year plans, the growth rates for Central Asia were planned at a relatively higher level in order to bring the region closer to the all-union level. More plants, more canals, more water. By using its natural resources recklessly, the republic had made very considerable progress by the beginning of the eighties. But when it became necessary to go deeper, to attain qualitative parameters, everything came to a standstill because the republic was still stuck in the same rut, in part even after the CPSU Central Committee April Plenum.

Such are the general reasons. But there are also specific reasons as well. In the self-normalization process, the republic had to replace two-thirds of all its managerial personnel and clear away obstructions. There was an appreciable shakeup—not everything cleared itself up. Unfortunately, the struggle for the new did not receive priority over the struggle against the old. A certain group of officials was to blame for everything that happened. Of course, the guilt of certain people at the middle and lower level, who said nothing, who covered up crimes, cannot be ignored. But many of them were drawn into deals that did not profit them whatsoever. Criminal proceedings were terminated against 13,000 of the 17,500 persons directly or indirectly involved in the "cotton deals." At the instigation of the law enforcement agencies themselves, the sentences of many others in the cotton complex were commuted or set aside. The involuntary depression of this category of people is passing; the spring of'88 is noteworthy for good labor activism.

Nor will I skirt the following question. Much that is bitter is written about the negative phenomena in Uzbekistan. Among the local intelligentsia, especially the writers, this has even evoked extreme emotions. But what is to blame? Publication is a secondary matter. The primary thing is the crux of the matter. And it has not cast the republic in a good light. Another question: The diligent service and highly principled line of investigative groups have occasionally been depicted in isolation from or even in opposition to efforts of republic party and soviet organizations to eradicate the negative phenomena. One publication persisted in referring to the bribery cases as the "Uzbek affair." But such an "affair" did not and could not exist. This would contradict the party's assessment: "Neither in Moscow nor among our people was disrespect shown toward Uzbekistan even during its difficult times." The people are not to blame. They suffered the most from the disgraceful goings-on. Modernization is, after all, gaining momentum because the people are striving for it.

The following conclusion is fundamentally important for us: the mood in the republic today is such that if the people are shown a good program, they can perform major feats.

[Question] You yourself have brought us to the next question. How soon can Uzbekistan be offered such a program and if you already envisage such a program, wherein does it consist?

[Answer] In the decisive transition from prestigious goals in economic development to a real increase in its effectiveness and in its performance in the all-union division of labor.

In what way has Uzbekistan not dazzled the imagination in more than one decade? In the development of whole steppes such as the Golodnaya Steppe; in the construction of gigantic canals such as the Fergana Canal; in the development of new industrial centers on an all-union scale such as Almalyk and Zarafshan, and as I have already said: All this is typical of the past stage in the industrialization of Central Asia, including Uzbekistan. Nevertheless, today we cannot entirely discontinue the development of new land through the development of irrigated virgin land. The most important thing is that the concept of the scale of the economy is now changing. We are not planning the construction of large machine building plants in the next few years; machine building will continue to make progress but in the form of the reconstruction of enterprises and improvements in the product mix.

Another facet of the program is its connection with demographic problems. Over half a million people in Uzbekistan today are not employed in the public sector at the same time that there is an appreciable shortage of labor resources in the nation as a whole. There are also those who avidly watch cockfights at the same time that their children are picking cotton. But there are many who are simply unable to find employment. What are we planning to do about this? We are putting second and third shifts into operation at enterprises. We are encouraging the cottage industry in the agro-industrial complex. We are increasing the number of secondary vocational-technical schools. We are encouraging people to work at home. Many people are joining cooperatives that are now being established everywhere. Cooperation is also being organized with oblasts in the Russian Federation: 3000 Uzbek families are already working on sovkhozes, kolkhozes, in logging camps, etc., in more than 20 Russian oblasts.

But the most important thing is to create jobs in the most densely populated regions. At present, there are more than 250 enterprise affiliates and shops in these regions. Not all of them are equal to the task. Many of them produce products of inferior quality. But this is the right idea. I would like to take this opportunity to call the attention of leaders of all-union ministries to the program. Affiliates established in Uzbekistan by Kuybyshev, Orel, Ufa enterprises and those in other cities have given a good account of themselves: We have an abundance of working hands. All you have to do is train them. Infrastructure costs in the southern belt are relatively low.

[Question] **The primary goal of the new model of the republic's economic development, as we understand it, is to improve the people's well-being and, not least to absorb the general overabundance of money in the marketplace. You, Rafik Nishanovich, have discussed this point in the past. Is this reflected in the program about which we are speaking?**

[Answer] Of course. The program is directly oriented toward giving an early return to people, to trade, and to the bank by dramatically increasing the availability of consumer goods and paid services.

We find ourselves in a difficult situation. Belorussia, which has a population almost half the size of ours, produces three times as many consumer goods. It is planned—and the union organs support this plan—to establish within the enterprise in a short period of time a network of 40 plants and factories specializing in the production of consumer goods, small television sets, tractors, separators, sewing machines, computers for schools, and, naturally, sewn goods and footwear, as well as 70-80 shops producing consumer goods under the auspices of large all-union enterprises. The main emphasis will be on tasks that have never been posed on such a scale in central Asia. They are truly capable of changing the way people think and inspiring them.

The second point is housing. Uzbekistan's population increases by almost a half million every year. In order to give each family a separate apartment or house by the year 2000, we will have to build 200 million square meters of housing, i.e., to effect a twofold increase. Can this be done? If so, in what way? There is one way: individual and cooperative construction. The knowhow is available: In Namangan, enterprises and the population took part in the transformation of slums in the upper part of the city, laid sewer and water lines; 3000 families are building their own homes; the apartments vacated by them will go to the next families on the waiting list. People are taking the solution of the housing problem into their own hands.

Finally, the part of the program that deals with food....

[Question] **With your permission, this is the first thing we would like to ask. According to the statistics, the republic's per capita consumption of meat and meat products is 29-30 kilograms compared with the national average—62-64; the respective figures for vegetables and fruit are 170-173 and 260-270. How did this happen and what is the way out of the situation?**

[Answer] Yes, these figures were a source of shame in our republic and the attempt was made to ignore them. But can there be a forbidden zone when it concerns the level of people's consumption and well-being as well as the moral and psychological climate? It is not enough to be aware of the problem. It is also necessary to understand it and address it.

What is the plan for doing so? The most important thing is to increase the return on every hectare of irrigated land. Attention was focused on this point at a recent

sitting of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. The point is, while preserving the present level of cotton production and while shipping up to half of all fruit and vegetable produce in fresh or canned form, to dramatically increase deliveries of this produce within the republic. Not only by increasing the area sown under these crops but also by creating large storage and processing capacities. As regards meat and milk and mixed feeds for our farms, we must have them shipped in. We cannot count on the punctual fulfillment of reciprocal obligations.

[Question] **We have come to the question that invariably enters into the conversation in Uzbekistan—the question of cotton and cotton farming.**

[Answer] One of the first economic plans signed by Lenin was the Decree on the Development of Golodnaya Steppe. Soon, in May, this decree will be 70 years old. The state's enormous investments in cotton farming proved to be highly effective: instead of importing cotton, the nation became a major cotton exporter.

But overreporting of performance and corruption surrounding cotton cast a shadow over the entire branch. There were even those who demanded that "cotton farming be curbed" and that Uzbekistan be transformed from a cotton-planting republic into "workshop" for producing who knows what. The cotton independence that was attained back in the thirties—the result of the nation's common efforts—was virtually called its misfortune.

These extremes were manifested, to be sure at the apex of the Aral problem or, more precisely, the Priaralye problem. Intensive efforts are being made to solve it but where the above-cited judgments are concerned, these are typical extremes. In terms of its significance for the nation, cotton is compared with metal. Unlike metal, however, almost all cotton is realized in the form of goods for the people. The republic's cotton production quota has been reduced in order to accelerate the introduction of crop rotation and to put an end to the single crop situation. But at a recent meeting, cotton farmers decided to add up to 150 tons of raw cotton to the lowered plan in the current year. We considered and still consider cotton farming to be not a "burden" but our national pride and our international duty.

I emphasize: The program that has been presented here in the most abbreviated form is the result of a considered approach to urgent problems in republic life characteristic of many meetings in the course of preparations for the 19th party conference.

[Question] **The new tasks require a new type of leader. This is probably doubly important for Uzbekistan where, as already stated, two-thirds of the officials have been replaced since 1984.**

[Answer] All basic links in party, soviet, state, and economic leadership are being sequentially restructured. This is not an easy matter under our conditions—it is also necessary to correct the cadre situation. But we are helped by people themselves and by the practice of holding elections. Today approximately 25,000 heads of enterprises, organizations, farms, scientific, educational, and other institutions have been elected from a list of two, three or more candidates. Experienced party, soviet and economic workers have come from Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Minsk, Voronezh, and other cities to take permanent jobs in Uzbekistan. They have brought their experience with them but at the same time they have had to learn the local conditions, to learn from us. In turn, young cadres from Uzbekistan are presently working in all union organs, are interning in party committees in the RSFSR, Belorussia, the Baltic republics, and other republics. There has been an increase in the number of Uzbeks in academies of social sciences and the national economy and in a number of higher party schools. Approximately 10,000 workers in the mass occupations are acquiring knowledge at industrial enterprises in Russia, the Ukraine and Belorussia.

[Question] **As a result of purification and modernization, there are those who have been deprived of various privileges as well as economic goods. There are the "aggrieved."**

[Answer] Yes, the normalization of the situation during all this time encounters—both in economics and in social and ideological spheres—an appreciable "material resistance." It revealed the inability of some party organizations to remedy matters, the perplexity of some of the cadres, and, to the contrary, the complacency of others who are trying to "catch their breath." We still have strong stagnant habits, various conditionalities in our everyday life and this has impeded the eradication of views that worked "rather well" during the time of stagnation and that became the basis for everything negative. Thus the commanding style is ideally suited to the aspirations of careerists and those who pad performance figures while clannishness and nepotism have led directly to social corrosion.

Incidentally, nepotism has become rooted not only in scientific and educational institutions but also in the nomenklatura at various levels—each one has given those close to him a hand up. Order must also be instituted here. Of course this will cause a certain amount of dissatisfaction but it will be welcomed by the entire population.

[Question] **Uzbekistan is a multinational republic. The traditions of internationalism here have withstood a difficult test. But as we know, each generation must go through its own school of internationalism.**

[Answer] We do not lull ourselves with words alone: inviolable friendship, mutual ties, brotherhood of cultures. We know that the practice of interethnic relations

means overcoming contradictions that are inevitable in any process and solving problems that were hitherto unknown. We must address all this with all our soul and with knowledge of the matter. Unfortunately there have been shortcomings here too. When we speak about respect for our brothers in our multinational family, why then did we have to lay claim to Avitsenna when he in reality is a great Tajik scholar? Is it that he does not belong to us if he belongs to our brothers?

It is illustrative that the word "nationalism" disappeared at a time from the local vocabulary while there were manifestations of nationalism. But why do people fear this word? The predominant nation in the republic must combat nationalism. Internationalism must become the popular practice. Our tasks here have grown complicated under glasnost when demands are frequently generated by emotions rather than reason. But we will remember: Only the consideration of the interests of all nations, full justice in the area of education, culture and cadre policy—is the basis of stability in interethnic relations.

[Question] A "local" but probably understandable question: how are various detached houses and "residences" built with state funds presently being used?

[Answer] Luxurious "hereditary" personal vacation cottages for the first persons in the republic were converted into children's homes and rest homes for invalids. The persons occupying these posts have vacation cottages within the norms in the common vacation cottage zone. Very recently a custom-built dwelling house for republic executives in Tashkent was converted into a home for war and labor veterans. In connection with the scheduled abolition of certain oblasts, ministries and departments, the republic government has resolved to convert approximately 300 vacated buildings into medical institutions. While this naturally does not satisfy all public health needs and all needs for the construction of housing and sociocultural facilities, people can even now see that social justice is now more than just a word.

[Question] The final question is of a personal nature. You were outside the republic for a long time because you disagreed with the line advocated by Rashidov as far back as the early seventies. What would have become of you if you had remained at that time? One more question: What kind of character traits would you like to instill in the aktiv? What is the yardstick by which you measure people?

[Answer] This question must also be answered because it contains a moral. Weak-willed, unscrupulous people either were not equal to the task or else were mixed up in unseemly affairs. People with a measured approach to life and all the more so people with personal party courage remained true to themselves. Take the fondly remembered Kayum Murtazayev who went through Komsomol school in Moscow, was active in the local party organizations at the lower level, and preferred to speak frankly. Rasul Gulamov remained highly principled to the end. He was an experienced party worker who was recently elected chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet. I will not try to guess what would have become of me. I know that I would not have betrayed my conscience and my duty to the party.

As regards the yardstick by which I measure people, it is also based on the party's honor code. The most important thing is to work, to dedicate oneself to the cause, to modernization, to purification, and to learn unceasingly. It is clear to me that we must untie the worker's hands and normalize his situation. Very much depends on how we address socioeconomic problems. This will help not only to multiply the results of work but also to affirm socialism's moral principles. Diligent social labor precludes parasitism, dishonesty and the search for roundabout paths.

On the threshold of the 19th party conference, I would like to emphasize in particular that Uzbekistan has been a worthy brother in the Soviet family and continues to be one today. We have a plan of action. We have the resolve to carry it out. We have the support of the people. This is the main thing that permits us to hope that we will manage to cope.

Kazakh Party Leader on Nationalities Problem

LD1705112588 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0440 GMT 17 May 88

[Text] Alma-Ata, 17 May (TASS)—The first sociological poll on problems of relations between nationalities has been conducted in Kazakhstan (Soviet republic in central Asia).

"This is particularly important for a republic where, in a population of 16 million, there are representatives of more than a 100 of the nationalities and ethnic groups of the USSR, and where deformations of the nationalities policy have been tolerated in recent years," said Uzbekali Dzhanibekov, secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee to a TASS correspondent.

82-98 percent of those asked (results according to individual regions) believe that relations between people of different nationalities in working collectives are good. Up to 15 percent of those asked expressed the opinion that representatives of different nationalities in working collectives are "somewhat distant."

The Leninist nationalities policy, U. Dhanibekov said, does not limit itself to a declaration of equal righs for each nationality and ethnic group, but in practice ensures their true equality. In the sphere of economy, for example, a powerful economic potential has been created in Kazakhstan with the help of fraternal Soviet republics. In the Kazakhstan Supreme Soviet and among the 130,000 deputies to local authority organs there are representatives of more than 80 nationalities.

But despite these successes, the secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee said, we are not under the illusion that there are no problems in relations among nationalities. We continue to search for forms and ways of perfecting nationalities and internationalities relations. Special commissions dealing with these problems have been set up in party, local soviet, and public organizations.

Estonian Professor Wants Independent Economy

PM1305143988 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 7 May 88 p 5

[Report on interview with Estonian Professor Tiit Made by Aasmund Willersrud in Tallinn: "They Call Our Perestroyka Nationalism"; date not given]

[Text] Tallinn—"When the Russians engage in perestroyka, it is called perestroyka. But when we Estonians implement perestroyka, they call it nationalism and separatism."

So said Tiit Made, the professor who is challenging party chief Mikhail Gorbachev with a daring call for economic independence for Estonia. He represents the radical Estonian intelligentsia, which has also proclaimed a united "narodnyy front" (popular front) in clear opposition to the old party bureaucracy.

At the same time the republic's environmentalist forces have organized a "green" movement and over 1,000 people took part in a meeting which the "greens" held in Tallinn at the end of April.

Together these two initiatives represent so dramatic and challenging a situation that the central authorities will soon be forced to produce a concrete response, observers consider. All of the republic's creative organizations involved here cannot be dismissed as a band of irresponsible extremists.

"Before its incorporation in the Soviet Union Estonia was at the same level as Finland economically. Today the Finns have left us behind and have gone along their own road, and can no longer be used as a model. Now we compare ourselves with Denmark and the Netherlands. We have the same potential as those countries and as soon as Estonia achieves economic independence from Moscow we will get our economy moving on their pattern."

There is not a trace of uncertainty in the light, Nordic gaze of the tall Estonian, Tiit Made. He is something as unusual as a professor of international economics, but first and foremost he is well known as one of the architects of one of the most radical proposals for economic reform to have seen the light of day in the Soviet Union of perestroyka: Give the republic of Estonia full economic self-determination.

"This is neither a utopia, a political mistake, nationalism, nor separatism. It is a direct response to the party's call for proposals for improvements in the country's centrally controlled economy," said Made, reiterating the key words in the criticism which the bureaucrats have leveled at the initiative.

But the professor has no simple answer to the obvious question—How do you divorce such wide-ranging economic freedom from political independence? It is undoubtedly an aspect which Moscow takes seriously.

For at the center of the comprehensive proposal, which has been the subject of intense discussion in wide circles in recent months, is the suspension of Moscow's absolute influence over Estonian industry, trade, and economic policy. With their own convertible ruble the Estonians would engage in active and independent foreign trade, and use 90 percent of foreign currency income for themselves. Moscow and the rest of the Soviet Union would of course receive both food and other goods as before, but they would be forced to buy at real market prices.

"We can never catch up with Denmark or the Netherlands, but we have one major trump card—cheap labor. We would welcome in particular Scandinavian investments and factories. They could have just as good terms here as in Portugal, Malta, or South Korea," he said.

Tiit Made reminded me of Lenin's words from 1922 on the necessity of giving economic self-determination to the republics. Made himself is no dissident or activist of the type which the authorities normally dismiss under the label of "extremist." On the contrary he is a former Soviet diplomat and in the mid-seventies worked at the consulate in Stockholm.

But he is a rebel when it comes to national economic policy and the sort of rebel who is taken seriously precisely because he attacks the system as much from inside as from outside. In Tallinn he takes part in open meetings and speaks against Moscow on the major environmental issue which has become a national struggle for all Estonians—the extraction of phosphates.

Both official and unofficial environmental activists were due to meet in Tammsaare Square close to the Hotel Viru at 1800 hours, but at the last minute the authorities gave orders that the meeting should be moved indoors, to the dining hall of the Polytechnical Institute a long way from the center. Despite this 300 to 400 people attended to mark their opposition to the project—a whole demonstration about it had already taken place in the square in the center.

But for the time being at least it is still the ministry in Moscow which makes the final decisions, and the ministry will simply increase operations because Soviet

agriculture is constantly crying out for more artifical fertilizers. The Estonians consider this to be a serious threat to their whole environment.

"Eesti Fosforiit" is one of many Moscow-controlled mammoth companies which were forced on Estonia during the period of mass industrialization after the war and which Tiit Made and others like him think Estonia would do best without in the future. They were staffed with large amounts of imported labor—guest workers from the east.

"They know and show their advantage over the local authorities, which are powerless. The republic itself has little or no influence over 91 percent of Estonia's industrial production," Made said, calling for a total shift to national control.

An extension of the proposal is the call for a popular front, and this calls for the "restoration of Lenin's principles on the sovereignty and equal rights of the union republics." In a joint appeal to the party conference in Moscow in June there is a call for a radical renewal of the republic's economic and political staffs—in short, a vote of no confidence in old first secretary Karl Vayno, Prime Minister Bruno Saul, and their staffs. The most conservative party leadership in the whole country, according to our source.

Scientist Angered by 'Editing' of AES Views

PM1305142388 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 17, 24 Apr 88 p 13

[Ukranian SSR Academy of Sciences Academician Aleksandr Alymov article: "It's Not Right!"]

[Text] The Soviet Central TV recently aired a programme called "The Lessons of Chernobyl", which aroused bitterness and bewilderment in me. We, scientists from Kiev, were invited to participate in a discussion about problems concerning the future development of nuclear power in the Ukraine. However, there was no discussion of the TV screen: with the help of a little editing, we were turned into schoolchildren, as if for our own edification.

The programme "The Lessons of Chernobyl" was supposed to be a public response to an open letter by 13 Ukrainian scientists published in the newspaper LITERATURNAYA UKRAINA January 21, 1988. In the letter we, specialists in economics, power engineering, geology, hydrology, biology and medicine, stated our opinions about the decision by the Ministry of the Nuclear Power industry of the USSR to add two more one-million-kW power-generating units to each of the three atomic power stations: the Southern Ukrainian, Khmelnitskaya, and the Rovenskaya. The Ministry justified the decision by an anticipated enormous increase in the Republic's energy consumption in the near future. However, such a tendency cannot be found in the plan for the development and deployment of productive forces of the Ukraine, drawn up by the Council of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences and the State Planning Committee of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. The republic is not planning any increase in high energy-intensive industries for its economy. Simultaneously, its economy is oriented, as is the economy of any other industrially developed country, towards an overall reduction in the level of its units' energy consumption.

We pointed out in our letter that the Ukraine, while occupying only three per cent of the USSR's territory, produces more than 20 per cent of the country's GNP, including over a quarter of its gross agricultural product. Because of the high concentration of industry and agriculture, the soil, water, and air pollution tolerance levels have been exceeded in the Republic. The overall anthropogenic load there is ten times higher than the country's mean level.

At the same time, the Ukraine suffers from an acute deficit of water (it occupies the 14th place among the 15 union republics in terms of water resources). The Dnepr basin has actually become a closed drainage area; given these conditions, the construction of additional atomic-power generating units which use large amounts of water is bound to have grave ecological consequences. Hydrology experts categorically oppose the proposed diversion of 100 million cubic metres of water from the Dniester river to the Khmelnitskaya and Rovenskaya APS's by pipeline. Such draw-off from the Dniester is absolutely inadmissible due to the river's shallowness. Besides, a breakdown of any section of the 240-kilometre-long water duct would spell disaster for the power stations.

We wrote that the designers of APS's ignored such things as an environmental capacity, and that we could not understand the sceptical attitude of the Ministry of the Nuclear Power Industry of the USSR regarding the ecologic aspects of the construction of APS's in the Ukraine.

In closing, we wrote that it will not do to ignore the moral and economic consequences of the Chernobyl APS accident or take its psychological impact on the Republic's population lightly. We propose a review of the concept which allows for the location of APS's in densely populated areas, in areas with fertile and valuable land, or near large urban centres.

These and other arguments we aired before the cameras of a television crew which had come specially to Kiev. However, fragments of our discussion were edited in such a way that they resembled the statements of incompetent and emotionally unstable individuals. And naturally these "statements" were easily disproved by representatives of the Ministry of the Nuclear Power Engineering Control Committee, and other departments participating in the programme.

I don't find such a "discussion" to be particularly ethical. And, in any event, it isn't of much use.

Mironenko on Year Since Komsomol Congress

PM0605164388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Apr 88 Second Edition p 4

[Interview with Viktor Mironenko, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, by V. Yevseyev and A. Chernyak under the general heading "Youth and the Times": "Deeds Not Keeping Pace With Words"; date and place not given—first paragraph is boxed introduction]

[Excerpt] What has changed inside the Komsomol in the year since its 20th congress? PRAVDA's correspondents asked V. Mironenko, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, to comment on this and other questions put by readers. [passage omitted]

[Yevseyev/Chernyak] Some readers cite cases of people being unjustifiably promoted to Komsomol posts.

[Mironenko] Since the 20th Komsomol Congress the promotion and election of Komsomol activists or Komsomol officials has been entirely in the hands of the Komsomol members themselves—the members of the primary organization and the relevant elective organ. Wherever cases occur of a particular nomination being imposed on a Komsomol organization or Komsomol committee, or someone is promoted unjustifiably without extensive discussion by Komsomol members, that represents a direct and flagrant breach of the decisions of 20th Komsomol Congress. This question is, of course, bound to cause concern. I would describe it as a fundamental question of restructuring. Nothing caused greater damage to the Komsomol in previous years than the degeneration of some Komsomol cadres. During the period between Komsomol congresses more than 3,000 Komsomol officials were dismissed for failure to cope with their work or for compromising themselves. Even after the congress, at the Second Komsomol Central Committee Plenum, A. Mikheykin and A. Oleynikov were expelled from it for that very reason.

Recently, however, the atmosphere of Komsomol life has considerably improved. The work has become that much more difficult, but this promotes the advancement of enterprising people who are ready to assume personal responsibility and are capable of organizing work in the new way. Careerists have begun to feel uncomfortable and, I think, their continuation in the Komsomol is just a matter of time.

[Yevseyev/Chernyak] Nevertheless one should scarcely rely on time alone....

[Mironenko] The democratization of life inside the league is the most important means of purging the ranks. When young people themselves decide who will represent and defend their interests, you have the most effective and reliable check on the purity of the Komsomol ranks. Forty-six obkoms, kraykoms, and union republic Komsomol central committees have made their cadre reserve open and have discussed and ratified it at Komsomol committee plenums. The extensive introduction of real cadre electivity is beginning.

[Yevseyev/Chernyak] The present day confronts young people with far-from-easy questions, questions they are sometimes unable to answer on their own. "I am 26. Until I was 24 I was convnced of the correctness of the path taken by our country over the last seven decades. But two years ago, under the influence of various factors, doubts arose in my mind...." In an attempt to resolve them the writer of the letter, A. Gryaznov, a Moscow student, expressed his desire to meet with people who "have seen the history of the Land of the Soviets with their own eyes." Later in the letter he adds: "I am certain that many young people who have found themselves in the same position as I would subscribe to my request." Young people nowadays are more interested than ever before in the questions of our history and the gaps in it during difficult periods. Who will help them get to the bottom of this? "We favor dialogue and discussion. It is clear, after all, that you get nothing good from bans and omissions but aroused passions and invariable curiosity" is the conclusion drawn in a collective letter sent to the editorial office by young laboratory workers in a Novosibirsk scientific research institute. What is the Komsomol doing and what, in your view, can the Komsomol do to ensure that the dialogue among the generations is lively, realistic, and constructive?

[Mironenko] I think that we in the Komsomol—indeed, not just those of us in the Komsomol—still have to fully grasp an indisputable truth. I'm thinking about the fact that each young generation will interpret anew its country's history. This is an objective process. It is impossible to replace it—let alone do away with it. Great, however, is the temptation to oversimplify this occasionally agonizing involvement of people in history, social life, and politics.

Great too is the temptation to leave some things unsaid and not hear out some people. But we must not succumb to it. Our ideology and history needs no such defense. Young people need full and truthful information about both the past and the present. They need frank, mutually respectful dialogue with representatives of the older generation, particularly with Communists and party and Komsomol veterans.

Unfortunately, dialogue between party and Komsomol workers, teachers, and veterans, on the one hand, and young people on the other has quite often resembled a conversation between the deaf and the mute. The world outlook thus shaped is very fragile and disintegrates at the first confrontation with real life or the complexity of the historical path covered by our country.

Our scientists, historians, and current affairs writers have a great debt to young people and should feel a special responsibility to provide objective, well-considered assessments of particular events, and should always bear in mind that young people pay careful, keen attention to everything new that is said and new information. As for Komsomol organizations, we must radically restructure the whole system of young people's political study.

The 20th Komsomol Congress demanded that members of our league study its history without any omissions, erasures, or gaps. To this end we have begun publishing material and verbatim accounts of the first Komsomol congresses and major documents connected with the history of the youth movement in our country.

The Komsomol will celebrate its 70th anniversary this year. At the Komsomol congress we said that our organization and our young people do not avert their eyes before anything or anyone. We look boldly at both the past and the future. Regarding the future, I think that, without diminishing our interest in history, it is necessary to look to the future more often with young people, to look at tomorrow and perhaps the day after tomorrow, and to assert in it our communist ideal of society and man.

We in the Komsomol Central Committee soberly and realistically assess the results of the year since the 20th Komsomol Congress. We have managed to accomplish quite a lot, but just as much has been left undone. What is at issue now perhaps is not the disparity between word and deed but the fact that our deeds do not always, alas, keep pace with our words. This is simply unacceptable today, when the value of words and deeds has so increased.

U.S. Management Expert on Restructuring

PM1305134988 [Editorial Report] Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian on 14-20 May (signed to press 12 May 1988) carries on pages 2-3 an interview entitled "It's a Difficult Business" with S. Rhinesmith, a U.S. management expert who as presidential adviser headed an organization responsible for exchange with the USSR in the field of science, education, and culture, conducted by Candidate of Historical Sciences B. Notkin during a U.S. visit. Rhinesmith talks about restructuring "not as a high-ranking official, but as a private individual with a great interest in the changes taking place in the USSR." Rhinesmith sees "a whole series off difficult practical problems in store." He criticizes the lack of a leader retraining program and argues the need for changes in the approach to allocating resources and distributing information if decentralization is going to work. He sees a problem connected with the multinational character of the country and different cultural attitudes to the notion of leadership and decisionmaking. He stresses the need for people to see real improvements after 3-5 years if they are to be convinced that more than good intentions are involved. He faults the Soviet schooling system for not encouraging analytical or independent thinking. He concludes by saying that there are not enough resources available to enable change to take place in all spheres and that this "basic dilemma of the changes" will be confronted in the next 3-5 years.

Correction to Roundtable on Restructuring

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Leningrad Roundtable on Restructuring," published in the 12 May Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 61-63. Due to a composition error, the following passage was deleted:

Page 63, column one, paragraph five, sentence eight should read: ...PRAVDA editorial article. A principled assessment of the article was also given at the obkom plenum.

"I have received many memorandums asking about A. Romanenko's book 'On the Class Nature of Zionism' ['O Klassovoy Sushchnosti Sionizma'], published by the 'Lenizdat' publishing house. The fact of the book's publication... (picking up paragraph six, sentence two)

Economic

Abalkin Reviews Progress, Shifting Priorities

AU1605143088 Budapest MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian No 18/88

[Interview with Academician Leonid Abalkin, director of the Economics Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, by Ferenc Varnai in Moscow: "For Quality!—Breakthrough in the Machine Industry—To Avoid Inflation"; date not given]

[Text] Academician Leonid Abalkin received our correspondent in his Moscow study and answered his questions.

Social Effect [subhead]

[Varnai] How is the acceleration program announced in 1985 progressing, particularly the major task of developing the machine industry?

[Abalkin] The party announced the acceleration program in April 1985 and this acceleration is already being reflected in the current 5-year plan that started in 1986. However, not everyone has interpreted the essence of this acceleration correctly. Some areas of the mass media have played, and are still playing, a great role in this because they interpreted the acceleration concept in a very simplistic way and, unfortunately, at the beginning they did not focus on the essential things. The mass media only stressed the rate of economic growth and pointed out the growth indicators in the plans as they did previously. The essence of acceleration, however, is the qualitative restructuring of the economy.

Our institute is doing a lot to reveal the real content of acceleration. Instead of acceleration in the growth rate, the essential thing is switching to the intensive development which takes into account and makes use of worldwide scientific developments to beneficially strengthen socialist foundations.

[Varnai] What does qualitative change mean precisely?

[Abalkin] In 1985, 1986, and 1987, we reached the planned growth rate with minimal differences, but the main issue is social results and not this growth rate. Since the end of the fifties, the rate of housing construction has been increasing rapidly, but so has the population, and thus in the last 2 decades, the amount of per capita housing area has remained virtually unchanged. In the last 2 years, however, we have built more and better housing. In 1987, for example, we finished constructing 2,300,000 apartments, a 15-percent increase compared with 1986. This is a breakthrough! As a result, the sphere of per capita housing has also started to grow in the last 2 years. Another example: Life expectancy has increased by 2 years in the last 3 years. Improvement in general health conditions, a decrease in alcoholism, improvements in child care, and assistance provided to families have all contributed to this.

Then, we adopted a long-term program for an accelerated rate of machine industry development, and this program stipulates switching over to a higher level of development. The implementation of this program is a long and complex process because new factories are needed to manufacture new quality machines, and suitable production lines and a modern instrument industry are needed to produce new quality. We cannot count on help coming from the West because they do not sell us high technology. We must create all this by ourselves and in the framework of CEMA cooperation.

One thing that has already happened is that we halted the production of bad quality and very inefficient products. By means of administrative measures, we also curbed the process in which we continued to compromise quality for the sake of quantity. For this purpose, we introduced the system of state purchase which hinders the production of machines that nobody wants, and this has also helped to develop a new psychological and economic atmosphere. All this, of course, led to difficulties for the workers collectives that produced such articles. Last year and at the beginning of this year, average wages decreased considerably in quite a lot of enterprises (in the agricultural machine production, precision engineering, in factories which manufacture television sets, and so on), because due to reduced purchase, less money was spent on the wage fund. However, there was not a single case in which the workers expressed dissatisfaction by raising objections. Society understood that we cannot go on like this!

A very interesting situation has emerged. The ministries continue to press for quantity and provide state orders. The enterprise collectives, however, in the case of outdated products, increasingly refuse to fulfill the state orders. This is a pricelessly important, new, and progressive phenomenon which, the mass media has correctly also started to support.

It is impossible to achieve a breakthrough toward quality without technical and scientific planning. We made a great step forward when we directed scientific research institutes toward self-financing and profitablity. These measures, of course, contain quite a few contradictions, but they encourage technical and scientific activity to follow the direction of qualitative product development and promote the elimination of barriers between science and production.

By the Mid-Nineties [subhead]

[Varnai] When will the change in the machine industry become perceptible?

[Abalkin] The effects of these measures can only emerge in several years, but the first results will be gradually perceptible at the beginning of the nineties. A decisive breakthrough is expected in the mid-nineties.

In the 2 decades up to the mid-eighties, we invested most heavily in the development of energy and raw material production, and in agriculture. (Unfortunately, in the case of the latter we invested in establishing huge animal husbandry complexes rather than in machine production and technological development. The expenses were so high that—to use a figure of speech—keeping a cow was more expensive than a smaller apartment.) Meanwhile, the machine industry and the stock of machines have become outdated. It is true that we have built a new car factory, but the supporting precision engineering industry, and the computer industry have become outdated and the facilities have morally and physically become run down.

In the current 5-year plan, we are calling for an 80-percent increase in our machine industry investments, and a twofold increase of our investments in this field by 1991-1992 (or in about 6-7 years). Our rate of increase is good. We exceeded our timely investments of 1986-1987 and we have implemented 45 percent of the machine industry investments planned for 5 years. It is also true, however, that this increase in investments has not yet become noticeable in the performance of the machine industry.

The fact that the performance of the machine industry is worse than planned is both good and bad. It is good, for example, that the state farms and agricultural kolkhozes have ordered 30 percent fewer combines than last year. This shows that the system of independent financing has started to work, and the enterprises are not purchasing equipment they do not need. This shows that the new

machines are better than before as they can be operated for a longer time, develop less faults, and therefore, fewer machines will be needed. But the production of new articles is slower than planned. Here too, the important thing is to refrain from sacrificing quality for growth and to keep from making this growth rate a preoccupation. It is most important that the machine industry undergoes a qualitative reorganization with a view toward producing computers and programmed machines.

About Price Reforms [subhead]

[Varnai] What are your plans concerning the price changes?

[Abalkin] This is an important subject but we are not dealing with it as a separate issue. Along with switching over from distribution to marketing in the case of finances, banking affairs, wages, and the means of production, pricing reform is also a part of our economic management reform. Pricing reform is inevitable because our pricing system is rather old and contains too many distortions. Pricing reform must be complex and must include the producer and consumer prices, the services, the housing rental, and transportation.

We will begin the new pricing system at the start of the new 5-year plan in 1991. We are both professionally and politically inadequately prepared to initiate the new pricing system earlier. We must recount everything and create reserves to avoid undesirable consequences.

We are talking here about two related but independent processes: one, the need to switch over to the new pricing system on any given day in a way which will provide compensation for low-income people and protect them from the negative effects. Two, the need to switch over to a new type of pricing in which contractual prices will, hopefully, play a determining role both in the producer and consumer areas.

During all this, we want to prevent inflation, because controlling such a phenomenon would be a much more difficult task. The efforts aimed at eliminating the monopolistic role of certain producers and establishing a competitive situation between enterprises are theoretically correct. But we know what happened in Yugoslavia, Hungary, Poland, and China. We would like to avoid inflation. Therefore, for the time being, we are carrying out thorough examinations in many areas.

[Varnai] How do you feel about the possible political consequences of changing the pricing system?

[Abalkin] The main question of pricing reform is whether it will increase or decrease the people's confidence in our policy. Our population has become accustomed to the present prices, and it will not be easy to make the people understand and accept the changes. This issue reminds me of a Chinese anecdote: Years ago, the Chinese ate rice, listened to the radio, and the people kept silent. Now, the Chinese eat meat, watch color television, and grumble about high prices.

But let us be serious. There are people who draw the "simplest" conclusions: The best thing is to do nothing. But it is impossible to reorganize economic management without carrying out pricing reform. Thus, we are carefully analyzing every step.

We are considering three factors: First of all, we want to protect the low-income and fixed income people (pensioners and scholarship holders). On the other hand, we want to implement a broad differentiation. If, for example, we increase the meat prices twofold, we want to see to it that the prices of products consumed by low-income people do not increase, or increase only slightly, while the prices of luxury products can increase four times.

Third: Housing rents were established 60 years ago, in 1928, and these do not depend on the quality of the apartments, but only on their size. We have invested extremely large amounts of money in housing. We will have to increase rents two or threefold but we will not increase the rent on old and poor quality apartments. The rent of very good quality housing will increase more than the average.

In short, we want to implement pricing reform by preserving the social guarantees provided by socialism.

Agricultural

Gorbachev Addresses Agro-Industrial Meeting

LD1305220888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 13 May 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] A meeting between staff of lease-contracting collectives of the agro-industrial complex, leaders of agricultural combines and firms, scientific and production systems and farms, first secretaries of Rayon Party committees, local soviet personnel, and agricultural specialists was held today at the CPSU Central Committee. Issues concerning the introduction of family and lease-contracting and other progressive forms of labor organization and remuneration in the agro-industrial complex were discussed. The meeting was opened by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

[Begin Gorbachev recording] We have invited you to the party Central Committee, dear comrades, to discuss a major issue, I would say a vital issue for our whole country. I have in mind the food issue. However rapidly today's world may be developing, even the advanced countries, within present-day human civilization, however strongly progress may be accelerating, and whatever heights progress may achieve in resolving new, absolutely new scientific and technical problems, and making new discoveries, an eternal issue remains, that of food,

and, in connection with this, an eternal profession remains, that of tiller of the soil. Ours is a huge country, and it has possibilities for developing all the branches of the national economy in the interests of the people, in the interests of improving people's lives. Our country is huge also in terms of possibilities for obtaining and producing the necessary agricultural products.

If you and I have now got down to restructuring our whole society, the food problem is the primary one among all those important problems. Frankly speaking, we put the question the following way: It is bad that this matter has been dragging on for so long in our country. Properly speaking, this is what worries the Central Committee and the government. The rate of movement, the rate of growth of agricultural products in the country does not satisfy us. As a matter of fact we put the question the following way—and this was voiced at the June 1987 plenum—that such problems as food, the provision of goods to the population, and the housing problem, these most important problems directly affecting the life of every family and every Soviet man, must be resolved, without their being put off for long years; these three problems, all the difficulties of a transitional stage notwithstanding. They should be more quickly resolved than other issues.

I must say that such an approach has been approved by all the party and all the Soviet people. We consider that one must receive a return from the accumulated potential in the countryside. Look—even in such a region as the non-Chernozem Zone, which is still in poor condition and needs help—even there those who have got down to work properly on the basis of the new approaches have achieved terrific results, comrades.

Moreover, we are even approaching a situation in which this will be one of the areas where the running of agriculture has the greatest guarantee. If we help the land that requires help, and if we help the person who lives on that land to develop it with housing and the appropriate social conditions, and first and foremost if we solve the roads problem—and we have made such a decision and have even found 37 billion [no currency specified] over the 5-year period [corrects himself] over a 7-year period, then there will be changes here also. But as far as the other regions are concerned, comrades, a great potential has been built up—in Belorussia, in the baltic republics, in the Ukraine, in the North Caucasus, in the Volga Region, in Kazakhstan; I won't list them all—in Siberia—I won't list them all. As a result of this serious analysis we have come to the conclusion that the question has to be put point-blank, as they say. The potential that has already been developed has to give a return. We have been convinced of this especially by the experience of the work of the contracting collectives.

Here, let me tell you, I have a folder containing material pertaining to everyone present here—what he has managed to do over 1 year, 2 years, 3 years, the maximum is 5 years, that people have been working under these new forms of organization and incentive. But beyond admiration there's nothing I can say, comrades. You are the same people who a year ago, or 2 years ago, did not understand anything; you didn't know how one has to work on the land. I doubt it. No: It is simply the experience of the last 2 or 3 years that has shown us all particularly that our man is willing to take upon himself the burden of solving the food question, to contribute his initiative and his native wit, his knowledge of the job, and to raise up the countryside. It is staggering, even, when 20 or 30 specialists on some kolkhoz or sovkhoz in our country have spent a decade raising the harvest by 1 or 2 quintals, or on occasion have just marked time, while some have even seen a decline; when milk yields don't just rise [pauses] well, over a decade there they increase them by 500 or 300 kg. Then people arrive who take the means of production—the land—on lease, or on family contracting; they conclude agreements with the management of the kolkhoz or sovkhoz on definite principles, and in the course of a year, in the course of 2 years at the maximum, they raise milk yields from 2,500 to 5,000 and 6,000 [units not specified]. Moreover, they give them heifers in calf for the first time: On the same large livestock unit somewhere, in one block some family has taken a group of cows on a family contracting basis. In this block these first-calf heifers are already producing 4,100, whereas elsewhere you understand the figure is 2,500.

Absolutely everything is the same. And we would like that you should convince us and support us by your experience even more, because not everyone believes in the feasibility of this formulation. I think we have done right in the Central Committee and the government by setting forth the crucial task of advancing decisively in agriculture within 2-3 years, and making a substantial degree of progress with food, with resolving the food problem in the country by relying on this experience which all the country already has at its disposal in all areas of the agricultural sector.

We are putting the question in the following manner: Nobody should refuse a person the possibility to go over to contracting, including lease contracting, or to hamper him or her in this. Nobody has the right to refuse. Moreover, those who embark upon this path of refusing. those who hamper the transition ot these new forms of work should no longer be entrusted with managing kolkhozes or sovkhozes. They say that many specialists now feel very uncomfortable. Why is this so? They have been in agronomics or livestock breeding for 10 or 20 years; results have been so slow to emerge; here a person attains such standards in 1, 2, or 3 years, both in terms of yields, livestock productivity, and changes in economic indices. Therefore, certain persons, of course—even quite a few—feel uncomfortable. On the contrary, good specialists have responded to this new business, and have become leaders of it. Many of those who have headed these production collectives, introducing leasing and contracting, former livestock breeders or agronomists, are sitting here too. This is the right path. This is

good. We think this is the specialist's civic deed. But those who are now standing in the way of new forms, the way of introducing new forms of organization in agricultural production—I will say it directly: We must tell them that they should get out of the way, and tell them this resolutely. This is our point of view. Everyone must open the way for contracting and leasing, must assist this so that everything in agriculture should move forward on the basis of people's initiative. Those who hinder matters should go.

We see this as constituting the task of the entire party, of all party committees—to support all the innovators, support the new work, render assistance, to come to their assistance now in order that this idea of transition, mass transition to contracting be put into effect. I only wish that this will not be reminiscent of mass collectivization, with all its excesses and deviations, with all its—you understand—breaking people in two. Not for what we see now is that the situation is radically different. First, our people are ready for it; by setting up cooperatives within themselves our kolkhozes and sovkhozes can unfold their potential. The main thing is that people are in the mood to get down to business, to feel that they are in control, to realize their potential, and realize their abilities. So it's a different situation, a completely new one.

People want to take this path, but we have many who are hampering them. They still have doubts, doubts about our people. Just take a look at them—it's all a hangover from the command-administrative system, the essence of which, to describe it briefly, comes down to complete faith in commnads and a lack of faith in the fact that the average person today—workers, kolkhoz workers, the intelligentsia, specialists—are already prepared to act energetically and independently, realizing the capabilities which we have invested over 70 years of development, by totally transforming society into a new and educated one. Therefore, [pauses] well, that's the way we feel.

I say this to you perfectly frankly, comrades, because we have made very serious promises, and words of too great a significance were pronounced at the June plenum which resolved that there should be substantial progress in solving the food question in 2-3 years. People will be looking to see what we are doing to solve that task, or whether it is just another slogan to console people while things again remain as before, marking time. This is the point of our meeting and our subject of conversation. [end recording]

[Announcer] The meeting was addressed by Aleksandr Yuryevich Kuzmichev, director of the "Zybino" state pedigree farm in Tula oblast; (Magomed Abakarovich Chartayev), chairman of the Ordzhonikidze Kolkhoz in Daghestan ASSR; Rome Stepanovich Romanyuk, leader of a leasing collective of the "Prapor Kommunizma" kolkhoz in Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast; Arvid Eduardovich Herk, a lessee of land at the "Nomme" sovkhoz in the Estonian SSR; Nikolay Nikolayevich Vorobyev, first secretary of Pytalovo Raykom in Pskov Oblast; Yevgeniy Sergeyevich Rychin, general director of the "Moskva" Agro-Industrial Combine; (Dzhazil Efgashev), team-leader of a leasing collective at the "50th USSR Anniversary" Sovkhoz in Dzhizak Oblast; Boris Alekseyevich Zinchenko, chairman of the Lenin kolkhoz in Rostov Oblast; Igor Antonovich Sikorskiy, director of Kurgan Grain Farming Research Institute; Vasiliy Vasilyevich Shvets, chief economist of the Manshuk Mametova Sovkhoz in Tselinograd Oblast; (Martin Arvidovich Skuya), director of the "Kekava" experimental model poultry factory in the Latvian SSR; Anna Ivanovna Pelekh, a kolkhoz worker and a member of a family collective for milk production at the Lenin kolkhoz in Voroshilovgrad oblast; Vasiliy Afanasyevich Revyako, first secretary of Mosty raykom in Gdodno Oblast; Nikolay Aleksandrovich Ponomarev, chairman of the rayon agro-industrial association council in Apanasenkovskiy Rayon and chairman of the "Path to Communism" Kolkhoz and pedigree stud farm in Stavropol Kray; Nikolay Fedosyevich Filatov, team section leader of a family collective for fattening cattle at the "Subbotinskiy" Sovkhoz in Krasnoyarsk Kray; Yuriy Anatolyevich Makarov, director of the "Ilich" Sovkhoz in Volgograd Oblast; (Telisforas Petrovich Juskis), team seciton leader of a leasing integrated collective at the "(Shchyashuvis)" Kolkhoz in the Lithuanian SSR; (Emzar Aleksandrovich Beridze), first secretary of Lanchkhuti raykom of Georgia; (Ivan Onufrevich Piven) director of the "Provesin" agricultural firm in Lvov; Petr Petrovich Bezsmertnykh, director of No 4 shop of the "Moskva" Agro-Industrial Combine; and Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Yezhevskiy, USSR minister of agricultural and tractor machine-building.

The results of the meeting were summed up by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

[Begin Gorbachev recording] We are all very pleased, above all because we've received such powerful support from you for our line toward acceleration, toward acceleration of the development of agriculture and of the agro-industrial complex in the interests of solving as quickly as possible, in the shortest time, the food problem. We are becoming convinced that—and this conversation, this meeting, once again indicates precisely this—that we have made the right choice: Trust, independence, economic incentives, and reliance on the individual, on his interest, on his independence, on his initiative and responsibility, on his civil feelings and his stance as a citizen. This is realized best of all in the various forms of collective contract, and particularly in the lease contract, where financial autonomy attains, I'd say, its greatest expression and embodiment. Therefore, I'd put it like this: The lease contract—and this has affected us all, especially today, and has been spoken of here—it releases the great power of people's creative endeavor. It establishes new economic relations. We've spoken of this here also. It raises high the dignity of the individual, and develops the individual's sense of mastery. I should say

that it thereby opens the shortest path to solving the food problem, and of providing the country with an adequate food supply. Look how many problems are solved at once here: The interest of all the people is resolved; the problems of the agrarian sector as a whole are solved, including the problems of the social development of the countryside. That is why today we have to say that a firm course has to be set toward introducing lease-contracting and family contracting, and all forms of contracting in the countryside, on a wide scale everywhere. Nothing has to be imposed from above. Hands have to be untied, the barriers in the way of collective contracting and lease-contracting have to be removed. That is the main thing. I would therefore put it like this: Well, then, what needs to be done? What needs to be done?

First: We today, on behalf of the Central Committee and the government, confirm that we have embarked firmly, and once and for all, upon the path of revealing the potential that has been laid down in our kolkhozes and our sovkhozes through the development of contracting, of different forms of contracting, and especially lease-contracting, through the establishment of a system of cooperatives within our kolkhozes and sovkhozes, through branching out into new forms of cooperatives and links with other branches, with the services sphere, to use everything that the kolkhoz and sovkhoz can do, to use its labor resources, and its incidental resources of all kinds.

Second: How will we act this year? What has to be done? This year's task is this: All those farms, all those collectives which have concluded contracting agreements of whatever form—be they family, team, collective, link, or lease-contracting, and so on—now need our help. We have to move to meet them, we have to move toward them, give them practical help to master these new economic relations. This is a very complicated business, and the problem must not be over-simplified, comrades. We now have to do everything to ensure that the principles of financial autonomy are really implemented in the collectives that have concluded contracting agreements. That is the task.

I regard this as being the task primarily of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes themselves, and standing guard over these collectives must be our leaders of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, the secretaries of the party organizations and the party organizations as a whole. We therefore appeal to them—and of course the comrades who are directly at the head of contracting collectives have been right to say here, and this was a theme hear in the speeches by secretaries of rayon committees of the party who have spoken here, particularly Comrade (Vorobyev)—that this great and lofty cause, this cause of the whole people, requires the concern of the rayon committees of the party in the countryside, of the obkoms and kraykoms. That is what party business is—helping people to master new approaches, to restructure their psychology, to change attitudes. This is radical, colossal work, breaking through views. There is no way of getting by here without the help and support of the good word of the party, of the party committees.

It is good that it has been said here by the comrades in their speeches that there already is understanding among the mass of our rural party raykoms, first secretaries, and other officials; that they understand that a new time has come and that they must build their relations with the people on a new basis. They—the time has now passed, never to return, when the raykom gave the orders and laid down the law as to what should be sown and when, in what direction cultivation should be carried out, when to begin to start harvesting the wheat, barley, and so on. All this, comrades, is being undertaken by solicitous people who have gone over to the new forms of management. It is the task of the party committees to ensure that this movement becomes a national reality; and not in some remote future, but now.

Here is what I want to wish you, comrades, in conclusion: That you should not lose your morale in your work. We greet you, the pioneers of this movement. Those who lead the way always bear a greater burden than those who follow. The skier who makes the first ski track bears one burden, but those who glide along the ski track, the hundredth or the thousandth, that's something different, a different burden.

I want to wish you success, from the Central Committee. You can rely on our moral and political support. We believe that through the party bodies you will get real support in the localities. That's the first thing. The second is this: You will have difficulties, comrades. You will have difficulties. No one is insured in such a great cause, in a cause that marks such a turning point, a new cause, against mistakes, omissions, failures. Don't be downhearted. Do not become disillusioned with your choice. Third, I would like you to report, on behalf of the Central Committee, on our conversation in the Central Committee of the party and directly at the meetings, first, in your own collectives, and secondly in the regions where you work. I think the press, the central press, and that of the oblasts and rayons, will give you an opportunity to tell people about this conference and our conversation, and share your experience. The main attention of the party and of the press, the attention of our ideological cadres, is on the main direction, the highroad, of restructuring, and above all of the radical reconstruction of our economy on the path of economic reform.

I thank you, for your labor, your intelligent and creative toil; for your thoughts, your concern for the future of the country and the welfare of the people. I wish you good health, success, and good fortune. [applause] [end recording]

Comrades Ligachev, Nikonov, Slyunkov, Razumovskiy; Comrade Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, chairman of the USSR State

Agro-Industrial Committee; and Comrade Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply, took part in the meeting.

Speeches by participants in the meeting will be carried 15 May in the "Rural Hour" program and in other Central Television programs.

'Rural Hour' Carries Further Gorbachev Remarks

Moscow Televison Service in Russian at 0900 GMT on 15 May in its program entitled "Rural Hour" broadcasts a report on the 13 May Central Committee Agriculture Conference. Included in the report are edited versions of some of the conference speeches; General Secretary Gorbachev's speeches were not included. The report did include remarks made by Gorbachev in discussions with conference participants. These remarks have been compared to those included in the Moscow PRAVDA in Russian Second Edition report published in the 16 May Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 67-84. The PRAVDA account of the conference is composed of speeches by conference participants, including Gorbachev, as well as the discussions between Gorbachev and conference participants. The "Rural Hour" version of Gorbachev's remarks has been compared to the PRAVDA version, revealing the following variation:

Page 74, column two, paragraph two, line thirteen from "Rural Hour": ...the order take?

[M.S. Gorbachev] Well, you know why, Nikolay Nikolayevich? We are afraid that the leaseholders, or perhaps even others, will leave us without this, that or the other. And consequently, to be safe... [video shows Gorbachev pointing to himself] we're playing it safe, from the Politburo all the way to...through Gosplan—we're playing it safe.

[Vorobyev] But then, Mikhail Sergeyevich...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] You draw one conclusion from the fact we still have shortages—that is, that we have to give free rein to initiative and do everything possible to provide to the country—but we up here—given that there are shortages, at least through state orders—we've sort of guaranteed something. We consider it as a guarantee. You were correct to give us a telling-off for being narrow-minded. People are so dreadfully inhibited here, especially in Moscow.

[Vorobyev] The production of...(supplying additional material, deleting sentence)

Scientific

'Mir' Cosmonauts Smelt Super Pure Crystal

OW1705052988 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 12 May 88

[Text] Soviet cosmonauts working in the annex of the Soviet spaceship, Mir, have started conducting a series of space technology experiments. In a steel device, Titov and Manarov are smelting super pure crystal. Depending on the conditions in the experiment, the smelting process sometimes lasts several days on end, and the whole process is automatically controlled.

The crystal, which cannot be obtained on earth, is to be used in extremely precise electronics and laser equipment.

Ecological Cooperation Talks Held With U.S.

LD1105191388 Moscow TASS in English 1121 GMT 11 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 11 TASS—The issues of coordinating the work conducted in the USSR and the United States to explore with the aid of space-based means global changes in the environment are on the agenda of the meeting of the Soviet-U.S. working group, Terrestrial Sciences, that opened in the Soviet Academy of Sciences today.

The meeting is held under the agreement on cooperation in the exploration and use of outer space for peaceful purposes signed by the two countries on April 15, 1987.

The Soviet delegation is led by Academician Kirill Kondratyev, the U.S.—by Samuel Keller, deputy assistant director of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA).

Research Protocol Signed

LD1605154588 Moscow TASS in English 1453 GMT 16 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 16 TASS—The joint Soviet-U.S. working group Science of the Earth held its first session in Moscow under a bilateral agreement on cooperation in the exploration and uses of outer space for peaceful purposes.

A protocol of the session, signed today, specified areas of bilateral cooperation in the field of ecology for the next few years.

The two sides considered more efficient uses of satellite systems for exploring the earth from outer space and possibilities of upgrading equipment carried by them for the purpose.

They considered and agreed on a wide range of issues related to joint space research programmes, research into problems of global changes in the biosphere and climate, a decrease in the aggregate content of ozone, climatic changes related to the greenhouse effect, and so on.

The sides agreed on setting up joint working subgroups which will carry out practical work under the programmes.

The working group plans to hold its second session in mid-1989 in the United States.

Military

Shcherbitskiy Pays Tribute to War Heroes

AU1605094188 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 11 May 88 p 1

[RATAU report: "In the People's Memory Forever"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] On 9 May war and labor veterans, representatives of party, administrative, trade union, and Komsomol organizations, of labor collectives and the USSR Armed Forces gathered in the Park of Eternal Glory. Soldiers, young workers, and schoolchildren stood at attention in the guard of honor along the avenue leading to the Eternal Flame.

At 1100 V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary; Comrades Yu.N. Yelchenko, Ye.V. Kachalovskiy, B.V. Kachura, V.A. Masol, I.A. Mozgovoy, V.A. Sologub, A.A. Titarenko, V.S. Shevchenko, S.I. Gurenko, Yu.A. Kolomiyets, V.D. Kryuchkov, and K.I. Masik arrived to pay tribute to the blessed memory of fallen heroes.

Mournful melodies rose over the square. The republic's Communist Party and government leaders laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. [passage omitted]

Readers Expect 'Intellectual Duel' in Papers

PM1605161588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 May 88 Second Edition p 2

[Interview with Colonel General M. Popkov, Military Council member and Ground Forces Political Directorate chief, by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent: "Arousing Thought, Calling For Action"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Restructuring has been going on in the country for 3 years now, and the process of renewal is also under way in the Armed Forces. The military press is working under new conditions. How, in your opinion, have the appearance and nature of military newspapers and journals—of which there is a quite considerable group in the Ground Forces—changed?

[Popkov] Our times have, I would say, invested the press with an exceptional role, and its influence on the progress of public life and people's minds and hearts is greater then ever.

Restructuring has also affected the military periodical press. Our newspapers—district and group newspapers and large-circulation specialist periodicals—are taking an active part in the transformations taking place among the troops. Journalists have honed and sharpened their pens and are conducting an animated dialogue with readers in their publications, talking at the top of their voices about the successes and the blunders, and boldly disclosing the reasons for the shortcomings.

The collective of Moscow Military District's KRASNYY VOIN sees its vocation in keeping abreast of life and boosting the reader's social activeness. Journalists' efforts here are concentrated in the requisite fashion on resolving two interdependent tasks: to illustrate the progress of restructuring among the troops energetically and without simplification and at the same time restructure their own work.

I could cite many examples to confirm that KRASNYY VOIN materials contain appreciable components of a higher quality, innovation, vital relevance, and pertinence for soldier and sergeant; that is, their main readership. The sensitive barometer that is the editorial mailbag illustrates that the feedback between them is also becoming lively and dynamic.

Other periodicals also have achievements to their credit. Our country has a large number of military journalists, true writers, active ideological fighters, and adherents of restructuring. Some could be cited by name on the occasion of the press holiday—Colonels A. Kirillov and I. Aristov, Lieutenant Colonels S. Neporada, V. Svirko, and Yu. Karaulov, Majors O. Zinchenko, A. Konabeyevskikh, and B. Kazak, Soviet Army serviceman V. Mashchikov, and others.

It is also worthy of note that the newspapers are successfully learning to reveal the problems of restructuring directly through man and in his interests. Glasnost is making it possible to tackle many previously forbidden topics, contrasting opinions are appearing in published materials, and increasing space is being given over to polemics and animated debate on the most topical social issues. Editorial workers' desire to show how the new thinking is also penetrating the military sphere is laudable.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] The new thinking and restructuring evidently presuppose substantial changes in the style of activity of editorial collectives...

[Popkov] That's right. This is manifested above all in the organization of close contacts with the readers and their involvement in the nationwide cause of restructuring through broad organizational work. "Express-analysis"

as practiced for some time now by editorial offices following KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's example greatly helps to sound out readers' opinions. The North Caucasus Military District's KRASNOYE ZNAMYA, for instance, is increasingly gaining the readers' trust and sympathies by striving to make its articles effective and publishing detailed reports about editorial office visits to remote garrisons to meet with the serving personnel. Once something has been started it is brought to its conclusion with enviable persistence every time; the readership is informed without fail of the changes at the garrison visited, the steps that have been taken at local level in response to the complaints and suggestions, while those who are slowing things down have the finger pointed at them.

Positive changes are also in evidence at other newspapers, but they are not so substantial as to allow journalists to stay at yesterday's level or succumb to enervation or complacency. Individual articles are so "ironed out" when they reach the reader that they are almost transparent. Everything is correct and the accents have been precisely positioned. Yet they don't rouse anyone's feelings or tug at the heartstrings.

Unfortunately, I am of the opinion that a whole series of our military newspapers have not as yet attained the partywide level regarding glasnost, democratization, and getting to the root of problems. There are still too few materials which evoke heightened interest among the public.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Is the notorious adherence to stereotypes having an impact here?

[Popkov] In principle this is indeed the case. But it is not only a question of the hackneyed content of materials where everything is sweetness and light while the world about us seethes with controversy and life is full of contradictions. Today people will not accept mere description, simplification, or a patronizing tone. They expect from newspapers intensity of thought, the clash of diametrically opposed viewpoints, diverse approaches, an intellectual duel. This is also necessary for the development of all our affairs.

It is also a question of the way in which materials are used to fill a newspaper: If you look you will see that formats set once and for all time are used in the layout of the articles on the pages. Is it really obligatory to open a paper or journal with an article by a chief, for example, if the paper happens to be carrying one? It seems to me that it is fully possible to open an issue at the same time with the polemical thoughts of a soldier, sergeant, or ensign on a topic of the moment.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Press criticism is a sharp weapon, and military journalists are growing increasingly accustomed to calling a spade a spade. However, it is sometimes difficult to get rid of the impression that they sometimes associate restructuring with a quest above all for shortcomings and the pursuit of sensational facts on the assumption that today offering the reader positive experience is equivalent to regaling him with tasteless food.

[Popkov] The critical thrust of newspaper articles has recently been intensified, and this is natural—criticism helps to pave the way for innovation. But criticism does not merely mean censuring someone who has tripped—it is also necessary to respect the personality of whoever is being criticized. It is important to explain to them the why and the wherefore, to help them get up, dust themselves off, and gain a "second wind" to be able to continue along the road. It was stressed at the 27th party congress that the more thoughtfulness and efficiency in the work of the mass media and the less pursuit of the incidental and the sensational, the more fruitful this work will be. This approach must also be applied to questions of criticism.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] It is well known that a great deal in press work is determined at leadership level. What problems do you see here?

[Popkov] I remember that one political organization decided to study how far personnel were influenced by materials published in the district newspapers and also in large-circulation newspapers. What emerged from this? Only about one-third of soldiers and sergeants read their local newspaper. This was surprising.

In accordance with service duty and in the interests of service commanders, political workers, and staffs must help editorial workers in organizing and gathering material, provide explanations and commentaries on particular questions, and answer the editorial office's queries.

Sometimes everything is quite different in practice. Months go by without individual chiefs dropping in at editorial offices which are literally under their nose. Not only do they not notice the materials published on topical subjects but they also assign editorial officers to fulfill other business unrelated to putting out the newspaper. To be fair, I must say that editorial office staffers themselves do not often ask the political organization chief for advice, do not always provide information as to which commanders and political workers are ignoring critical newspaper articles, and do not consider it their duty to report what steps have been taken. In these circumstances it is not a bad thing for the political organization and the party committee to hear such commanders and political workers.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Public opinion polls and analysis of the editorial mailbag show that military publications sometimes lack a youthful thrust...

[Popkov] That's true. Young readers or, under our army conditions, soldiers, sergeants, and lieutenants, seek in the newspapers the answers to many questions affecting

precisely this category. They must see for themselves that newspapers remember them and are always at their side—in their joys and troubles, their doubts and hopes.

We must not, however, assume that the problem of "rejuvenating" newspapers can be resolved by, say, Komsomol publications alone. A youthful character must infiltrate and distinguish each issue of our publications and the style and language of the material; it must manifest itself in the presentation and in the attractiveness of the issue's graphics.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] The 19th all-union party conference is drawing near. What influence do you think the military press will have on boosting army party organizations' militancy and all servicemen's activeness in fulfilling the tasks facing the troops?

[Popkov] The all-union party conference will be a great event in the country's political life and a great deal is expected from it. The preparations for it impose a high responsibility.

The preparations within the Armed Forces—like those throughout the country—for the upcoming party conference are characterized by an increase in Communists' and Komsomol members' activeness, professionalism, and responsibility and by the reinforcement of party influence on the resolution of the tasks facing troops. At this stage the main, key political and practical task for press workers is to accumulate people's opinions and experience and do their utmost to help boost their sociopolitical activeness and enhance the quality of martial labor.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] All this indicates the need to concentrate attention on priority areas. What specific areas are priority areas for the military press at the new stage of restructuring?

[Popkov] The first and the main area is to help in all manner of ways to enhance combat readiness and maintain it at the requisite level, and to provide ideological backup for further strengthening military discipline and to help to resolutely eliminate negative phenomena in relations between servicemen.

The Transbaykal Military District's NA BOYEVOM POSTU is resolving this task in an original fashion by sponsoring a motorized rifle regiment—a onetime frontrunner—which at some stage lost the positions it had gained. The editorial office is actively helping the regiment to resume its former high levels by thoroughly studying the state of affairs in the unit and placing its findings in the newspaper every time.

Man, our contemporary, is at the center of all the transformations and his makeup must be reproduced in print skillfully, sincerely, and with feeling. For that reason one of the press' priority areas is to instruct military cadres and all personnel in the spirit of the acute realization of their responsibility for the high-quality fulfillment of daily commitments.

I personally like the way in which the Volga Military District's ZA RODINU covers these questions. The editorial office has many points of contact with life, the main one being its desire to get to the heart of the matter in all things and uncover the problems of restructuring through the specific individual and his work.

A word about international education. This is a most fundamental and vital question which the party compels journalists to tackle thoroughly and unceasingly. Every army or navy subunit is, generally, a multinational collective, so international themes should always be present in the military press. But a new standard of work is also necessary here.

The times demand that military journalists concentrate their attention on the spiritual world of the Soviet fighter—many of our newspapers have still not talked graphically about the heroes of combat days and the vital practical experience of restructuring's devotees among the troops. As an important component of all ideological and political work at the contemporary stage questions of the cultural enlightenment sphere are increasingly in the forefront of our common concerns. As yet the military press still talks indistinctly about the theme of the culture of daily life and leisure.

It is important to satisfy the unprecedented wave of people's interest—especially that of young people—in our past, and the desire to make good the gaps in our knowledge of our fatherland's history. Establishing the truth about the past war, whose annals still contain blank pages, opens up a broad field of activity for military journalism. This makes it possible to extol the exploits of honest Soviet workers, party, war, and labor veterans, and the unfading moral values of the older generations. There must be resolute support for newspaper and journal articles promoting restructuring and criticizing the forces of conservatism and dogmatism, such as the PRAVDA editorial article of 5 April "The Principles of Restructuring: Revolutionary Nature of Thought and Action."

Military journalists must, I repeat, say a special word during preparations for the 19th all-union party conference. It is their duty to involve every serviceman in active work through the force of the word of the press, to tirelessly seek out and enrich all the best elements born of people's initiative, to enrich others with new practice, new discoveries, and everything which really adds to combat readiness and the strengthening of discipline.

Volkogonov on Conference in Party Life

OW1605101788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2130 GMT 14 May 88

[From the "I Serve the Soviet Union" program, with Colonel General Dmitriy Antonovich Volkogonov, deputy chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy, in the studio; screen caption "Toward the 19th Party Conference"—live or recorded]

[Text] A great event in the life of our party and our people will take place next June—the 19th party conference. A question—why the previous, the 18th conference, was held 47 years ago—is often asked. To answer this question, I would like to speak about the role of a party conference in the life of our party.

The first party conferences that took place were held at the beginning of the century, when the Bolshevism was just taking shape, and, on Lenin's proposal and the decision made by Bolsheviks, it was decided and agreed to hold party forums between congresses and discuss at the forums the most important questions of tactics and implementation of decisions. It is not a coincidence that the first four party conferences—all of which, by the way, were held in Finland—among other questions, discussed the question of the Bolsheviks attitude toward the Duma, the bourgeoise parliament, and the tactics of the Bolsheviks. The fifth conference was also held abroad, in Paris; the sixth one, in Prague. It is understandable, because the Bolshevik Party was illegal, and the first legal party conference, the famous 7 April Conference, was held after the February prologue, when the bourgeoise democratic revolution won in Russia, and the conference was held, this time openly.

Of enormous interest in history, particularly party history, and the life of our people exists now. This is not merely people's curiosity. The interest in our past history can be explained by the fact that, unfortunately, many pages of the past were closed, unknown, or, in any case, people did not know everything about many lines in these pages. This is why, on the wave of the gigantic, enormous interest in the history of formation of the historical conscience of our people and our fighting men, it is of great interest to get acquainted with the work and decisions of some party conferences as well, and in particular with their role in the life of our party.

Primarily, a question arises immediately: why were the conferences—those held even before the October Revolution and in the 1920's—held regularly? For example, two party conferences were held in 1921. Even in the year when the Civil War actually ended, the most difficult circumstances of devastation and foreign military intervention existed, and a choice of further development was being made, the party and Lenin considered it necessary to hold broad consultations, democratic forums, if I may say so, between congresses.

Indeed, a congress and a party conference are the highest party bodies where most important questions of political behavior of the party, tactics, concrete questions, implementation of decisions of previous congresses, and other important questions are decided. This is the council of Communists, a large forum, where important tasks are decided, strategic positions are specified, and they have an important place in the life of people. However, it so happened that, in the 1920's, even after Lenin's death—by the way, Lenin participated in all first 10 party conferences; two party conferences were held without him as he was gravely ill—the first conferences after Lenin had an imprint of his genius and were carried... [changes thought] and in essence went on according to Leninist traditions. In 1930, however, only one party conference was held, and the last party conference was held in February 1941, shortly before the Great Patriotic War. A question arises at once: Why? Maybe further conferences were unnecessary? Or were there other reasons? I think this question should be answered the following way: By the time the personality cult arose, and, I would even say, the absolute rule [edinovlastiye] formed, when, in essence, people were increasingly isolated from participation in governing the state, from those democratic foundations set by Lenin but, to our great misfortune, not developed after Lenin, Stalin did not see the need to seek counsel from anyone else. He did not have a great need for glasnost, collective discussion, forums, and often the authocratic [edinolichnyye] decisions taken by him were later registered as government decisions, Politburo, or other documents. Stalin did not have any need to seek counsel from people and the party. This is the main reason that conferences were held increasingly less often, and eventually, after the 18th party conference, as we have said, there have not been any conference for 47 years.

In the following talks we will deal with some party conferences. Now, on the wave of rejuvenation, on the wave of glasnost, on the wave of establishing of democratism in all areas of our life, it is extremely important to emphasize that the forthcoming party conference which will be held in late June, for which we are preparing, and from which all of us expect so much, will primarily consider how the decisions of the 27th congress are being implemented. Second, it will deal with profound, radical questions of democracy as the key and fundamental issue for solution of all questions of economy, social, and spiritual life. Its enormous significance lies in these facts. It is an important landmark in the life of our party and people.